



**Social Change and History Pedagogy in Greek Supplementary  
Schools in England**

by

**Angeliki Voskou**

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**School of Education  
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## **Abstract**

This doctoral study examined the pedagogy of history and heritage in four Greek supplementary schools in England and how this influences the development of students' identities in a period of continuous social change.

The study followed a case study design and a mixed-method methodology. The methods employed were documentary research, questionnaires, interviews and ethnographic observations. It was conducted in three distinct phases. The pre-phase of the research examined the history of Greek migration in the UK. The second, quantitative phase and the third, qualitative phase, explored participants' attitudes, perceptions and practices on history pedagogy and identity development.

A notable finding of this doctoral research is that the structure of the Greek community and Greek supplementary schools in England are undergoing a dynamic change due to the influx of Greek and Greek-Cypriot migrants in the UK recently. While this change is undergoing, the findings of this research revealed that a part of pedagogical practices appear to reflect this need for a change, while some others continue to reproduce the wish of preserving primordial notions of culture and ethnicity. This doctoral study stresses the need for a reconsideration of policies and practices to suit the current fluid context of late modernity.

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## Chapter 1 - Introduction

### A. Research background

*“Τὰ πάντα ῥεῖ καὶ οὐδὲν μένει”*

=everything flows and nothing stands still/stays the same

Heraclitus, (~ 544-484 BC)

#### 1.1. The necessity of the research

Heraclitus' aphorism remains just as relevant today as it did more than two millennia ago. Today's world is characterised by continuous transformation in all aspects of social life. One of these social changes was the financial crisis in Greece and Cyprus which resulted in unprecedented large migration waves of Greek and Greek-Cypriots in the UK during the last few years (Labrianidis and Pratsinakis, 2016; Fotiadou, 2017).

Within this labile context of open societies, the identities of Greek immigrants are constantly re-developed through their social interactions (Vertovec, 2001). However, these processes of identity development are restrained by pre-existing, primordial notions of ethnicity and culture which are particularly prominent in the Greek nation state (Millas, 2008). Strong, and frequently deterministic notions of ethnicity and culture have imposed and endorsed a nationalistic view of ethnic identities, based on common ethnic and cultural characteristics which are in need of protection (DuBois, 1897; Smith, 1991). In turn, these claims influence the educational policies and practices in mainstream schools in Greece and Cyprus (Mavroskoufis, 2010; Psaltis et al, 2011).

These ideas on ethnicity prevail in the context of diaspora. Generally, in Europe, there is a general desire amongst migrant communities to sustain and

maintain identities, culture and memories (Martinello, 2005; Berthomiere, 2005; Ma Mung, 2005). More particularly, Greek communities wish to preserve these ethnic and cultural characteristics and transmit them to the following generations. The means through which their desire for the preservation of ethnic identities is fulfilled is Greek supplementary schools. Greek supplementary schools have been claimed to be important sites of identity construction (Catsiyannis, 1993; Constantinides, 1977, p. 284). Moreover, in these schools, history and heritage are considered as powerful means of nation building and identity development (Leerssen, 2008; Davison, 2008). The attachment to these fixed notions of ethnicity and their preservation through these institutions, renders history teaching and the construction of identities problematic in today's context of instability and continuous transformation.

Greek supplementary schools, despite their long history in England, have received scant scholarly attention. This neglect, does not only unravel a wider academic ignorance around supplementary education, but it also stymies our understanding and academic thinking of contemporary cultural diversity. Apart from this, the future of the Greek supplementary schools seems uncertain due to the economic crisis in Greece and Cyprus and the consequent funding reductions for supplementary education. This uncertainty is also reflected in the fluid period of late modernity, as meta-reflexivity is particularly dominant among young peoples' identities (Archer, 2012). Moreover, this contemporary world of migration, and particularly the increase of migration waves from Greece and Cyprus and its consequences, necessitates the examination of pedagogy and identity construction in Greek supplementary schools to inform and revisit educational policies and practices.

## **1.2. The aims of the research**

This research examines the pedagogy of history and heritage in Greek supplementary schools in the UK. It investigates the role and impact of the

pedagogy of history and heritage on the development of Greek immigrant students' identities and examines whether primordial notions of culture and ethnicity, traditional views and teaching practices still influence pedagogy and identity development in these institutions. These ideational and institutional factors have to be considered alongside participants' backgrounds, as well as the wider social and historical context, to understand whether and how these have changed or remained the same. This doctoral study does not only have resonance in Greek communities or Greek supplementary schools in the UK, but also in other contexts globally, where communities also wish to preserve their identities and invent mechanisms to fulfil this desire (Berthomiere, 2005).

### **1.3. Research questions**

The above research aims were investigated by answering the research questions below:

- How is history and heritage pedagogy practiced in Greek supplementary schools in England?
- What are the factors influencing students' motivation and engagement in history and heritage teaching?
- How are Greek ethnic minority students' identities constructed in Greek supplementary schools?

These research questions were explored through case studies of four Greek supplementary schools in England, employing a mixed-methodology. It sought information from both teachers and students, which can result in a more holistic understanding of the teaching practices (Rudduck et al, 1996). This doctoral study was conducted in three distinct phases. The pre-phase of the research examined the historical development of Greek communities and schools in the UK. The second, quantitative phase explored the participants'



attitudes on pedagogy in Greek supplementary schools and the third, qualitative phase investigated participants' views, perceptions and practices around history teaching. This doctoral study is informed and guided by the theoretical framework of critical realism and Margaret Archer's theory of identity development. This theoretical underpinning of the research is dynamic and corresponds with the current context of fluidity and change.

## **B. Conceptual clarifications**

The exploration of history pedagogy and identity development in Greek supplementary schools involves the examination of the theoretical framework of this research and the explanation of some complex terms. Exploring the meaning of these concepts facilitates the understanding of pedagogic practices and the processes of identity formation in these schools.

### **1. The theory of critical realism**

The theoretical underpinning of this research was based on the theory of critical realism. Critical realism provides a view of the world which is stratified and a social reality, which is structured and distinguished into 'parts' and 'people' – the principle of 'structure' and 'agency'. Structure and agency have their own properties and powers to create actions that are irreducible. More specifically 'agency' can be considered as those agents (collectives) that can have a generative or influential power on events, and they are transformed to social actors after a process of internal conversation and personal reflection. The structure is constituted by political and social organisations, different ideologies, disciplines or systems, which due to their ontological depth, they precede, influence and condition the agency (Carter, 2000; Archer, 2000).

The relation between structure and agency is historical, since they operate in different temporal sequences. Therefore, the actions of the individual entities require not only an examination of how they are internally constituted (micro-examination), but also a study of the social structures where these are positioned (macro-examination) (Sayer, 1992). Since structure and agency are internally differentiated, placed in various social and contextual environments and they act in different time sequences, this facilitates the examination of the emergence, influence and temporal appearance of various phenomena (Archer, 2000). This doctoral study aimed at examining the relationship between the structure and the agency and Chapter 3 (Methodology) explains this in more detail.

## **2. Late modernity**

Today's world is characterised as late or liquid modernity. In this context, pre-determined influences in social and cultural structure are replaced by fluidity, a rapid, continuous transformation and uncertainty in all areas of society (Archer, 2014, p.1-2). In this open social world, the society's institutions, foundations, forms of individual and social action are questioned (Maccarini, 2014; Lawson, 2014). In such a context, the agents do not remain unaffected and they undergo a process through which their identities are re-constructed (Archer, 2012). Greece and Cyprus, have undergone significant socio-political and economic changes during the last twenty years and educational policies and practices had to adjust to these changes. Even though the Cypriot educational system is influenced by nationalist and post-colonialism ideologies – traces of the British colonialism in Cyprus during 1878-1960 -, the recent membership of Cyprus in the EU in 2004 and the increasing multiculturalism in Cypriot society have been prominent and influential factors on social and educational change (Özmatyatli and Özkul, 2013; Klerides and Philippou, 2015; Hadjisoteriou and Angelides, 2013). One example of this is the current reform of the history curriculum in Cyprus in 2010, which has followed a more

disciplinary approach towards history teaching and set the basis for change in history curriculum (Perikleous, 2015).

It is within this context of late modernity that members of the Greek community, who are the focus of the research, live, experience and interact. This involves going through the stages of structural conditioning and social interaction, through which agents question and reflect on standard, fixed configurations of culture and structure, they elaborate upon their concerns, commitments and social positions and they become re-invented. This is a process which Archer calls morphogenesis, a process through which new forms of actions emerge (Archer, 2014, p.3). Agents though, may also prefer to retain and preserve those cultural and structural mechanisms/forms through 'morphostasis' (Archer 2012 p. 50). This theoretical framework provides agents the opportunities to reflect upon their concerns and select whether they wish to retain or transform those mechanisms (Archer, 2014, p. 4-5). Identifying the causal mechanisms which generate the process of morphogenesis, is an issue which this research seeks to explore.

This doctoral study examines whether these agents are provided with the opportunities to reflect upon their social position and whether they are subject to morphogenesis or morphostasis, and which are those causal mechanisms which cause agents to retain or change structural and cultural determinants.

### **3. Community**

Community is defined as a group of people who live in a particular geographical area outside their country of origin and is defined as a distinctive group, compared to the dominant ethnic-cultural groups in the same geographical area (Krystallidou et al, 2010). This is a particular rendition of the term community, and is a translation of the term 'παροικία' (= community), which etymologically means living in a strange land. However, there are different ways and traditions of conceptualising the term community, which

renders it a contested concept (Studdert and Walkerdine, 2016). Community is characterized by an inherent commonality, group solidarity and a strong affiliation to a fixed, inherited past, aiming at perpetuating common cultural values (Kelly, 2003). Various historical and social conjunctures throughout the centuries, led the Greeks and the Greek-Cypriots to migrate and create the communities in order to resist to processes of assimilation which were considered as a 'threat' to their identities and the community affiliation (Catsiyannis, 1993). They also remained attached to an idealised past and a form of history which aimed at retaining the community's cohesiveness and cultural characteristics (Constantinides 1977, p. 275; Anthias, 1991, p. 28). Both past and history, help in developing group identities and in providing social cohesion (Seixas, 2000). The formation of groupness and the way people participate in it, is of particular interest in this study.

In the context of late modernity, the homogeneity of the community is questioned, and traditional values and norms that were assigned to the concept of the community are subject to change. In such a context, identities become hybrid and contested (Devadas and Mummery, 2007). Nonetheless, identities are not contested only due to wider social changes, but also due to internal differentiations within the community (The Parekh Report, 2000; Papadopoulos, 2000). Within the communities there is a degree of differentiation, which is more profound in community members' socio-economic status, gender and age. These are factors which influence their expectations, opportunities (The Parekh Report, 2000), as well as the way these agents experience and construct their identities. The fact that community members are socially stratified and that they act in different historical and temporal sequences can in fact influence how they experience the idea of being Greek. These are people who were responsible for establishing Greek supplementary schools and communities and they currently appear in these schools, conditioning particular renditions of culture and ethnicity and influencing the relationships and practices in these institutions.

#### **4. Supplementary schools**

The complexity behind the theme of community and its schools is revealed by the ambiguity existing regarding the terminology used for schools providing supplementary education. A range of nominations have been used when in international literature to refer to these schools, such as supplementary, complementary, community, Saturday/Sunday schools and mother tongue schools (Maylor et al, 2007, p. 27). This complexity is further highlighted by an ambiguity regarding the exact number of community schools operating in Britain, since there is not any directory for national community schools (Strand, 2002). Even though, according to the DfES (2006), the number of community schools in Britain is estimated around 5000, this number may seem rather high compared to an estimation of ContinYou (2010) that refers to 3000 community schools and seems more applicable. There are approximately seventy Greek supplementary schools across the UK (CEM, 2015).

Supplementary schools were more historically prevalent after the post-war period and the influx of large waves of immigrants during this period (Myers and Grosvenor, 2011). These schools can either provide support for raising students' attainment in mainstream schools or offer community language learning, as well as teaching cultural elements, such as history, literature, dance, music and religion (Maylor et al, 2010, p. 27)

Notwithstanding the multiplicity of terminology around supplementary education, nowadays the terms supplementary and complementary schools are more widely accepted (Robertson, 2005). The contestation around the community and how is experienced, rendered the term 'Greek supplementary schools' as more appropriate for this research. Supplementary schools are defined as the schools which provide additional, supplementary education to that provided in mainstream education (Strand, 2007).

Supplementary schools are important sites of constructing students' identities and serve immigrants' wish and need to secure their ethnic and cultural identity, against threats of assimilation (Simon, 2013; Reay and Mirza, 1997).

However, these schools neglect that ethnicity and culture are dynamic concepts subject to contestation and render cultural practices in these schools a powerful means of developing learners' identities.

## **5. The contested terms of culture and ethnicity**

Both culture and ethnicity are concepts which are highly contested (Ratcliffe, 2004). Culture in Sociology *'refers to a dynamic process of interpretation and negotiation of shared values, descent and change marked by gender and generation as well as the material circumstances of the individuals'* (Craig et al, 2012, p. 21). This definition provides a notion of culture that is not static, but is regarded as a dynamic. Its constitutive elements are continuously re-constructed, acquiring new meaning through personal and social interactions (Ferdman, 2000; Nagel, 1994).

Culture and history constitute the 'substance' of ethnicity and are fundamental elements of the construction of ethnic meaning making (Nagel, 1994; Simon, 2013). Ethnicity is a process of self-identification which aids in tracing the elements of the cultural context through which the ethnic identity is continuously reinterpreted (Craig et al, 2012). Ethnicity is itself a dynamic concept and is imposed to a process of self-negotiation (Craig et al, 2012). This resonates with the constructivist approach to ethnicity, which highlights the dynamic and developing nature of ethnicity (Rathcliffe, 2004). The co-constructive developmental theory supports that a person's identity is psychologically developed through his/her dialogical communication with the social world (Valsiner, 2000).

This dynamic notion of ethnicity is opposed to the primordialist view of ethnicity, which claims that ethnic ties and bonds are pre-given and innate (Geertz, 1996). This view is reflected in the normative claims and notions of an idealised and diachronic presentation of ethnicity, based on the idea that values and ideals are static, inherited and transmitted to the next generations (Craig et al,

2012). These claims of ethnicity can find their roots in the 'nostalgia' for the past golden era of a nation-state and the continuous efforts to recover it in the present (Smith, 1986). Even though these perceptions had a positive contribution in the preservation of the ethnic identity and the nation's historic continuation in the past (Sianou-Kyrgiou, 1998), these views continue to exist at present and are prevalent in the policies and curriculum of Greek supplementary education despite wider social change.

### **C. Policies and provisions of Greek supplementary schools**

#### **1. The purpose of Greek Supplementary schools**

The purpose of the Greek supplementary schools, according to the Greece's government law on intercultural education 2413/1996 is the teaching of the Greek language, the transmission of Greek cultural identity and the transfer of Greek language, Greek and orthodox tradition and the Greek culture to other countries (Law 2413, 1996, Article 1, paragraph 1). These aims were also prevalent in the curriculum for Greek supplementary schools of 1997 (Anagnostou et al, 2005) and continue to be prevalent in the revised curriculum for Greek supplementary education of 2015. According to the revised curriculum, the broader aim of the Greek supplementary schools is the cultivation and preservation of the Greek language and the ethnic and cultural identity. These claims are considered as a result of the immigrants' efforts to establish Greek supplementary schools in order to survive in an environment which is culturally and religiously different. As such, the curriculum continues by claiming that these schools protect the children from their assimilation in a multicultural environment (CEM – Cyprus Educational Mission, 2015: philosophy and orientation of the supplementary education).

According to the curriculum, in order to empower and support these efforts, the Greek supplementary education provides a Greek-Christian education, which is considered particularly important for people in diaspora. This form of

education, is imagined to be central for the preservation the ethnic consciousness and the identities of the ethnic minority students. It also connects the people in diaspora with Greeks and Cypriots to preserve the Greek community 'alive' (CEM, 2015: philosophy and orientation of the supplementary education).

## **2. The educational bodies**

The central body responsible for coordinating the educational bodies of Greek community education in Great Britain is the Hellenic Education Coordinating Committee (HECC or ΕΦΕΠΕ, Ενιαίος Φορέας Ελληνικής Παροικιακής Εκπαίδευσης ΕΦΕΠΕ, in Greek) (MOEC – Ministry of Education Cyprus, 2015, p.21). According to the Annual Report (MOEC, 2015, p. 21) it plays a key role in the foundation and operation of the supplementary schools and the 'preservation' (exact translation) of the ethnic identities of ethnic immigrants. The president of HECC is Archbishop Gregorios of Thyateira and Great Britain and vice president is the head of the Educational Mission of Greece and Cyprus (CEM, 2017).

The Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain draws particular attention to the Greek education in diaspora. It is responsible for the establishment of many Greek schools in the UK, such as the Hellenic College of London and the first Orthodox primary day school in London. It is also responsible for the operation of several Greek supplementary schools in the UK (Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain, 2017). All these efforts reveal the Greek Orthodox church's role in the preservation of the Greek language and culture education in diaspora (Vamvoukas, 2004). The close relation of the Greek Orthodox church with the Greek nation state and identity, is explored in more detail in chapters 3 and 4.

The sectors of HECC are the educational bodies: Federation of Educational Committees of Greek-Cypriots of England (Ο.Ε.Σ.Ε.Κ.Α. in Greek), the



Independent Greek Schools of U.K. (A.E.Σ.EA. in Greek) and the Cyprus Education Mission (CEM) (CEM, 2017: 3). CEM, founded in 1969, is the central body through which the Cyprus Ministry of Education enhances the efforts of the Cypriot communities in UK, for preservation and cultivation of the religious, ethnic and cultural identities of the students and community members (MOEC, 2015, p. 21). CEM's aim, as it claimed, is the preservation of the cultural character of the community and the enforcement of the 'ethnic ideals and spirit of the children' (CEM, 2017: 1). The Cyprus Ministry of Education is responsible for staffing the Greek supplementary schools with teaching personnel, the trainings of the teachers, equipping the schools with books (MOEC, 2015, p. 21), as well as the development of the curriculum and the preparation of schools' regulations (MOEC, 2010, p.22). The Cyprus Pedagogical Institute is also responsible for the production and issue of teaching books and educational resources (Cyprus Pedagogical Institute, 2017).

### **3. The curriculum of Greek supplementary schools**

#### **3.1. Background information**

The curriculum for teaching in Greek supplementary schools was first issued in 1997 and it was issued by the Cyprus Ministry of Education (Cyprus Ministry of Education, 1997 – reference found from Anagnostou et al, 2005 and Curriculum Development Unit-Cyprus Pedagogical Institute, 2017). It was possibly a result of the provisions of the Law 2413/16 "Greek education abroad, intercultural education and other provisions". According to the Greek Law 2413/16 (Article 1, paragraph 1), Greek education abroad is reinforced with the composition of educational programmes (including curricula) in collaboration with specialists, adjusted to the context of the host countries.

Despite many and various efforts made on my behalf, it was not possible to locate this issue of the curriculum. This was problematic for those involved in

Greek supplementary education, as the curriculum was not available publicly. After almost thirty years it was reviewed for the first time in 2015 and published on the CEM website. Nonetheless, the current curriculum is in the Greek language only, which may render it difficult for those who do not know the Greek language to understand its provisions. As the 1997 curriculum was not traceable, it was not possible to compare the two curricula and examine any modifications or improvements which were made.

### **3.2. The curriculum of Greek supplementary education for history and heritage teaching**

Based on the curriculum for Greek supplementary education, part of its aims is the students to know and appreciate their history and their cultural heritage, as those are claimed to be important for the construction and preservation of students' ethnic identities. As part of these efforts, the curriculum provides the teaching of 'social subjects', which include history, geography, Orthodox Christian teaching and cultural elements which, according to the curriculum, are constitutive elements of the Greek identity (CEM, 2015: Social Subjects).

Upon examining the curriculum for social subjects, one can observe similar claims as the ones which appear to be the central aims of Greek supplementary education. Based on the curriculum, ethnic minority students when taught about social subjects, they learn to appreciate and respect their cultural heritage and develop values which would help them to preserve and empower their ethnic identity in a pluralistic society and be proud of their origin (CEM, 2015: Social Subjects). More particularly, the general objective for teaching history, according to the curriculum, is for the students to appreciate the basic historical facts and the cultural heritage of Greece and Cyprus and to form a national consciousness as members of the Greek nation and the Greek diaspora. The understanding of the historical continuity of the Greek nation and the appreciation of Greece contribution in the development of the

European civilization, are also claimed to be central aims in the history curriculum (CEM, 2015: Social subjects).

In the curriculum particular emphasis is placed on learning about the Turkish invasion in Cyprus in 1974. More particularly, students should preserve their memories 'alive', which will reinforce their '*fighting spirit for national justice*' (curriculum's own phrase). The same claims are repeated for the teaching of history and music. As it is also claimed, ethnic-minority students through music teaching become emotionally connected with their country of origin and their ethnic and religious feelings are empowered (CEM, 2015: Social subjects).

Despite providing the teaching of social subjects, the majority of the space of the curriculum is dominated by the teaching of the Greek language. It has specific sections dedicated to the teaching of the oral speech and written language, grammar, syntax and vocabulary. It is acknowledged in the same curriculum that due to the time constraint, the emphasis is placed in teaching the Greek language and so the teaching of social subjects should be incorporated in thematic units in Greek language teaching (CEM, 2015: philosophy and orientation of the supplementary education). As can be observed in the teaching material which is available online for social subjects, this is mainly focused on commemorations and celebrations (CEM, 2017: 2).

Not only this, but through the history curriculum the teaching of historical events related to national commemorations and '*important facts showing the love of Greeks for freedom*' is encouraged (CEM, 2015: Social subjects). According to the curriculum, starting from the first level, the students should know about the meaning of homeland and their origin. The second level of teaching (years two, three and four) is focused on the pre-historic period in Cyprus, the national commemorations, as well as Greek mythology. Progressing to the final level, years five and six, the teaching of history is focused on the Byzantine period, the fall of Constantinople until the most recent history of Cyprus and Greece, which is mainly focused on historical facts related to national commemorations (CEM, 2015: Social subjects). The content of the history

curriculum does not seem to have been changed since its previous edition of 1997, as this is described in Deligianni and Louka's (2004, p. 409) research.

### **3.3. Teaching methods in the official curriculum**

In the revised curriculum, it is acknowledged that students live in a pluralistic environment and that the recent migration wave has brought new challenges for teaching practices. Within this context, according to the curriculum, the teaching methods should correspond with the students' socio-cultural environment and students' expectations from their Greek school (CEM, 2015: methodological approaches). Whilst acknowledging these, and suggesting exploratory learning as a means for students to explore their identity, at the same time it is claimed that this teaching approach will lead in preserving and empowering these identities. These statements are contradictory and confirm that the Greek curricula, at least until the 1997 (the date of the first curriculum for Greek supplementary education), were traditional and 'closed', following a teacher-centred approach (Pedagogic Institute, n.d.).

These claims represent general efforts to preserve an ethnic ideal by transmitting archetypal ethnic and cultural elements which stress the distinctiveness and superiority of the Greek nation. Such claims are based on the idea of a nation-state with a diachronic historical and cultural entity and are used as a defensive stance against assimilation processes (Sianou-Kyrgiou, 1998). The provision of the curriculum for teaching history is mostly focused on teaching the national history of Greece, aiming to perpetuate students' ethnic consciousness.

These claims sit uneasily with today's context of social change. Therefore, an examination of those macro-structures which encourage the development and perpetuation of these claims existing in the curriculum is required. This is because policies are a means of regulating ethnicity and they influence the process of ethnic identification (Sianou-Kyrgiou, 1998). These claims reflect a

lack of understanding of the needs of the communities living in a pluralistic society (The Parekh Report, 2000), as well as the fact that they constitute a dynamic part of the society. They leave limited space for ethnic minority children to negotiate their identities in a context of fluidity, uncertainty and questioning of social and cultural forms.

#### **4. The structure of the thesis**

The next chapter explores the notions of culture and ethnicity which appear in the macro-structure and influence educational policies and teaching practices. It also explores Archer's theory on identity and how this relates to ethnic minorities identity development. It also draws on literature and research on memory, history and heritage to examine how these are related to identity development. It proceeds to examine the pedagogic practices in mainstream and supplementary schools and how these affect students' motivation and engagement. The third chapter justifies the selection of the design and methodology followed in this research, as well as the division of the research in three distinct phases based on the theoretical framework of the research. It also discusses the processes and applicability of the methods employed in the research. The fourth chapter consists the pre-phase of the research and explores the historical development and establishment of communities and schools and their social stratification. Chapters five, six and seven present and discuss the substantive findings of this research. Chapter five presents data regarding the background of the participants which assists the interpretation of findings regarding ethnic minorities' identity development in chapter six. Chapter seven draws on data to discuss history and heritage pedagogy in these schools and how these are influenced by pre-determined cultural and ethnic values and traditional teaching practices. The last chapter provides data on participants' suggestions, summarises the main processes and findings of this research, and provides the limitations of this research and areas of further research.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Literature Review**

This chapter aims to set out the theoretical background of this study, as well as the existing research in the area, to facilitate the examination of the aims of this study. More particularly, this is a study of the pedagogy of history teaching Greek supplementary schools and the attempts of these institutions to transmit a heritage and particular notions of ethnic identity to children in a rapidly changing world. This chapter draws on theory and literature to discuss how the content and teaching is influenced by values, ideologies existing in the wider social and historical context. It also draws on both conceptual and empirical data to examine the role and impact of both the content and the pedagogic practices of history and heritage teaching on students' motivation and engagement and the development of their identities.

This chapter also helps to identify the problematic research gap in the area of Greek supplementary schools. As far as I have searched, an average of twenty studies was conducted in supplementary schools in UK during the last decade, while only five of them were conducted in Greek supplementary schools. A research examining the problems of teaching of history and the history of the Greek diaspora in day and afternoon schools in Britain, was conducted in 2003 by Deligianni and Louka (2004). The methods employed were questionnaires, knowledge tests and interviews. Based on my search, this study was published providing mainly a report of the findings of the research in Greek, which denotes a problem in the accessibility of the research by an international audience. A more recent ethnographic study by Simpsi (2014), focused on examining how ethno-cultural identity is formed as part of national celebration theatre performances.

This study though is different as it provides a recent and detailed examination and analysis of history and heritage pedagogy in four Greek supplementary schools, employing a variety of data collection methods. This study also

investigates the relation of history and heritage teaching and wider macro-structures and the process of students' identification. It is based on a theoretical framing which is dynamic and provides the opportunity to reflexively and critically discuss pedagogic practices and processes of students' identification.

This chapter identifies, explains and evaluates the utility of a substantial academic literature in three main areas for this study. Firstly, the chapter reviews a sociological literature that sets out processes of identity development and, in particular, work which draws a clear distinction between personal, social and ethnic identities. It draws on the work and theory of sociologists and anthropologists to examine how this is different to the theory on identity which directs this research.

Secondly, it discusses how the theory and literature around the development of identities is related to memory, history and heritage. Memories, heritage and history, have been considered as means of nation building and identity formation (Grever et al, 2012; Leerssen, 2008). This was and is the case for the Greek nation state and for a Greek diaspora whose Greek supplementary schools can be considered as an institutional attempt to transmit national ideologies to populations abroad and to maintain their ethnic identities.

Thirdly, it proceeds in examining how these attempts of nation building influence the pedagogy processes of history teaching in Greek supplementary schools. It discusses this by drawing on pedagogic practices in mainstream schools in Greece and Cyprus, and limited literature on supplementary schools to discuss how values and ideologies affect students' motivation and engagement in these schools. It moves on to provide theory and research to examine how active and experiential learning relates to the theoretical background of this study and how it enhances students' level of motivation.

The next section examines the complicated process of the development of personal, social and ethnic identities, and how this process can be more complicated in relation to ethnic migrant students.

## **A. The process of identity development**

Robust social science research into supplementary education requires a clear exposition on the relationship between personal and social identities. There is an extensive literature on identity formation in social sciences. This literature ranges from the area of anthropology to that of sociology, psychology and cultural studies. Arguably, the most influential work and the most highly cited in sociology and education studies was the ground-breaking work of Stuart Hall in cultural studies. Hall's work has been an important influence for example on Gilroy's studies of race, identity and postcolonial education (Jeffries, 2014). Both view identities as historically and socially constructed, under a constant transformation (Hall, 1990; Hall, 1996; Gilroy, 1993). Nevertheless, both were criticised as not been able to develop a theoretical critique of identity, race and ethnicity and that they did not completely escape from the idea of a 'common cultural experience' (Carter, 2000, p. 47). More specifically, in this work, there are claims around essentialist notions of ethnicity (Hall, 1995, p. 227) and that identities are necessary as a response to assimilationist processes (Carter, 2000, p.45).

Margaret Archer's work in setting out a theory of critical realism provides some possible solutions to these challenges. This theory was selected as the most suitable and relevant theoretical resource to explain the processes and practices around heritage, memory and personal and social impulses on identity development.

This section sets out that identities and humans are stratified, as '*biological organisms, persons, social actors and agents*' (Carter, 2000, p. 41). It also discusses how people can respond to the social positions on offer, by engaging in an internal dialogue and reflection, drawing on the work of Archer on identity, reflexivity and morphogenesis.

The selection of this conceptual resource was driven by the following fundamental factors. The Greek community in the UK is undergoing a rapid



inter-generational change. These changes were discussed in chapter one and are related to generational change, the recent financial crisis and a resulting increase in the number of migrants arriving in the UK from Greece (Labrianidis and Pratsinakis, 2016; Fotiadou, 2017). Archer's work is dynamic, is open to the possibilities of change in late modernity and the generational change in the community, as well as the economic, political and social changes. Indeed, using Archer's discussion on morphogenesis in late modernity - of the way structural and cultural changes are experienced -, it is likely that certain renditions of Greek culture may become less popular and less important. People's concerns within this world of late modernity, for example the extensive structural change in regards to family structure, migration rates and employment patterns, affect the generation of norms, values and practices. Within this context of uncertainty and fluidity, traditions, cultures and identities become contested and less secure and should not be taken for granted (Schissler, 2009:1).

The situation in the migrants' homeland remains an important set of influences on attitudes and practices in the culture generally (Archer, 2012, p. 9). This fluent, unstructured situation and general social change can impact on how young people deal with or accept traditional practices and ideas. This cannot leave teaching practices and the professional development of the teachers unaffected. Schools have long been identified as 'socializing agencies', as sites for the transmission of knowledge and important influences on students' developing of identities (Schissler, 2009:2). Schools are surrounded by a changing world and the ability of schools to preserve identities, to 'transmit' what are sometimes called traditional or primordial identities, can be regarded as problematic in the fluid world of late modernity. This study uses the theoretical framework of critical realism to explain and analyse agential responses to the current, extensive social change.

## **1. The development of personal, social and ethnic identities:**

### **1.1. The development of personal identities**

Structure and agency have their own properties and powers to create actions. Archer (2000) suggests that, even though humans' properties are similar, their cluster of concerns renders them different and this is what renders each person unique, with a personal identity. Emotions play an important role in shaping people's commitments, which subsequently define personal identity. Emotions and identity are located in different levels. Archer (2000) explains that first-order emotions find their source in individuals' involvement in natural, practical and social orders. People have the power to reflect upon their emotions, transform and re-order them, based on their priorities, concerns and commitments. This ongoing internal conversation and reflection is a process leading to the development of personal identity (Archer, 2000, p. 222, 241). Personal identity is important for each individual in order for him to be able to proceed to a personification of their roles in their social context (Archer, 2000, p. 287).

However, this process of internal dialogue is not unproblematic. It is a process of conflict between 'logos' and 'pathos' - thinking and feeling - and the prevalence of one over the other. The intrusion of reason and cognitive reflection contributes in the evaluation of first-order emotions and in generation of second-order emotions (Archer, 2000, p. 223). This entails a process of *morphogenesis*, a process of progressing from the pre-conditioning of first-order emotions to their evaluation and re-articulation (Archer, 2000, p. 228).

This process presents a real thinking, active subject whose internal conversations re-prioritise cares and commitments. In younger ages, these cares and commitments are not final decisions, but they are in their formative stages. Children and younger ages, due to their developmental immaturity, do not know themselves sufficiently to be able to develop a strong personal

identity (Archer, 2000, p. 246). The process of identity formation in these ages is a developmental process, aided by cognitive development and practice in the real world, through which they develop skills, attributes, and a sense of selfhood.

Archer's theory is consistent with the work of pedagogues, for example Elizabeth Quintero and Antonis Chourdakis. Both these pedagogues, support the interrelation of personal and social context with learning and the construction of identities. More specifically, the pedagogue Quintero (2009, p. 75) supports:

*"people's own histories are the contexts for developing identity, learning cultural information, and the basis for learning all new information..."*.

Chourdakis (2001:2) also supports that students' personal experiences located in their micro and macro structures of a stratified world, in the meso-institutions of families and in the micro dynamics of feelings and relationships, shape the development of their identities and how they perceive knowledge and culture. This is consistent with the work of constructivists, for example Piaget, who supports that human development is based on experience (Piaget, 1970). Social constructivists in particular, support that knowledge is constructed through interaction with others (Vygotsky, 1978). This study in Greek supplementary schools in the UK examines how these structures and processes of reflection affect the development of their personal identities and how they perceive cultural information, values, norms and practices in Greek supplementary schools. These become significant within the context of a rapidly changed world and the generational dynamics of the Greek community.

## 1.2. The development of social identities

Identity is not just a product of reflection upon emotions and concerns, but it is also a product of the social context. As Craib (1998, p. 23) argues, personal identities are also developed based on people's position within the 'wider social structure' and historical context. This is how people's social identities are developed. This leads to an interconnection and interdependence of the personal and social identity, each one of them contributes in the development of the other and their uniqueness (Archer, 2000). Personal identity comments on and transforms the social identity (Craib, 1998, p. 4).

The development of social identities is not itself unproblematic. Recent cultural and social changes have resulted in changing the relationship between structure and agency, since structure and culture are constantly changing and become, what Archer calls, morphogenetic. In theoretical terms, rapid morphogenesis generates the influence of structure and culture on personal reflexivity, which reinforces meta-reflexivity (Archer, 2012). In more concrete terms, this means that the social roles and positions available to members of the Greek community begin to change. Particularly significant for this project is the changing position of first, second and third generation women in the labour market. The irreducible properties of these roles, going to work, meeting new people with different norms or expectations, provide a new set of resources with which individuals can reflect on their past and their heritage. People can be critically reflexive about their own internal conversation and their effective action in the society (Archer, 2012).

More generally, people, as Primary Agents, are '*collectivities which share the same life chances*', sharing positive or negative ethnic, gender and class norms (Archer, 2000, p. 263). The collective action of Primary Agents, in this case of people within the Greek community, can be retained or encouraged depending on the context in which they are positioned (Archer, 2000). The regulatory idea of being identified as Greek may be prominent, in respect of class, gender and social position. It has been common for immigrant groups to

develop certain socio-cultural institutions, which aim at the retention of their personal, social and ethnic capital affecting their identities, through morphostasis (Archer, 2000, p. 273). This was the case for Greek immigrants, who have often wished to maintain their social and cultural conditioning. Various processes though, for example forced re-migration due to war or economic situation, render the development of the migrants' identities contested and less stable (Schissler, 2009, p.1). This leads to a questioning of their identities, through reflection and morphogenesis. Through the process of morphogenesis, the Social Actor emerges, who is responsible for occupying various social roles and positions, which themselves have irreducible properties. A personal identity is required to act reflexively and creatively for a personification of this social role (Archer, 2000).

The development of social identities is a product of a dynamic process of people's reflection upon their past experiences in relation to their current role as social actors. This is the case for all and, as Brian Fay (1987, p. 163) has argued, people modify their identities based on the historical and cultural capital they inherited from their society. Yet, for migrants, this process of selection and appropriation from the past must deal with an acute disjuncture in the present that necessarily follows from migration. The formal or informal rules that governed social life in their home country can no longer serve exclusively as guides to action and so migrants feel compelled to find mechanisms to retain this social and cultural capital in their social lives and transmit this to the following generations.

In very young ages though, the process of becoming actors is difficult. The type of agents they involuntarily begin to be is influenced by their parents and the social context, and these in turn, influence the kind of social actors they will become (Archer, 2000, p. 285). Young people, based on Archer's research, are actively reflexive upon their concerns and commitments in today's society. They undergo a process of morphogenesis, in which the structural imperatives of class, gender and social positioning are more likely to break down (Archer, 2012, p. 313-314). The present study examines how young students in Greek

supplementary schools negotiate their social positioning as part of a pluralistic social context, as well as of a nation state guided by certain cultural values and norms. It thus discusses whether students undergo a morphogenetic process or prefer to retain and preserve their historical and cultural capital.

### **1.3. The development of ethnic identities**

Personal and social identities are universal, but the area of ethnic identities, and particularly ethnic identities constructed within diaspora relationships, developed a specialist literature to which attention now turns. Young students of Greek/Cypriot origin living in UK, do not only negotiate their personal and social identities but they are also ethnically located. They are symbolically members of a nation state driven by particular renditions of Greek ethnic identity and culture. Literature and studies from the field of anthropology and sociology on ethnic identities has tended to essentialise the notion of culture (DuBois, 1897; Smith, 1991; Hall, 1995). The influential sociologist on studies around race and racial equality, W.E.B. DuBois (1897, par. 6), defined race as people with *'common blood and language, always of common history, traditions and impulses ...'*. A century later, Smith (1991, p. 9), inspired by the anthropologist E. Gellner – one of the most important theorist in studies regarding nationalism -, claimed that ethnic identity involves a *'sense of political community, history, territory, patria, citizenship, common values and traditions'*. Similarly, Hall (1995, p. 227) in the same time period, maintained that we are all ethnically located, since we all come from a particular culture, history and experiences and ethnic identities are deemed to be essential to what we are.

These anthropologically inspired claims appear to have similar views, even though they appear in three different chronological spaces. Carter (2000) argues that the above claims show an unwarranted emphasis on ethnicity as a kind of a primordialist identity. These claims are characterised by ambivalence, in the sense that they recognise ethnicity and race as socially

constructed, but at the same time they wish to preserve race and ethnicity for political purposes (Carter, 2000, p. 45). More specifically, the construction of identities in a pluralistic society is in one sense considered by Hall and Gillroy as a response to practices of exclusion and racism (Carter, 2000, p. 47). Based on that assumption, identities should be preserved and remain unaltered against these threats. Generally, post-structural work on race and anti-racism theories around identity, support that ethnicity and race are central to the constitution of the self (for example Hall, 1995). As can be inferred, these theories sit uneasily with postmodern theories that view identities as dynamic and from a different ontological position, as well as Archer's more pragmatic notion, that identities are negotiated through morphogenesis. In today's fluid context of late modernity with migration flows and cultural interactions, the negotiation of ethnic identities becomes more prominent.

#### **1.4. The development of identities in the context of diaspora**

These anthropologically driven claims and the deep notions of culture are reflected in policy documents of the Greek supplementary schools. For example, according to the Greek law 2413/1996 and the revised curriculum for the Greek supplementary education, the purpose of the Greek supplementary education is the preservation and development of the Greek language and students' religious, ethnic and cultural identity (CEM, 2015; Law 2413/1996, Article 1, Paragraph 1).

The above claim is reproduced today in educational policies and documents. According to the curriculum for Greek supplementary education (CEM, 2015) for example, the Greek-Christian values which were preserved and remain unaltered throughout the centuries are fundamental for the personal development. The significance of receiving a Greek-Christian education is also stressed as the basis for the preservation of the orthodox faith, ethnic consciousness, the immigrants' identity, as well as the continuation of the Greek community (CEM, 2015).

The preservation and empowerment of ethnic identities in order to protect children from the 'threats' of living in a pluralist society, is a fundamental aim of the curriculum and can be traced in every lesson, but perhaps especially in history and geography (CEM, 2015). These claims present a common-sense, essentialist view of Greek culture that has deep, anthropological roots, is privileged, fragile and in need of protection.

The formation of the identities of Greek immigrants is generally based on the claim that these should be preserved. For this reason, Greek immigrants prefer to live close to each other, to form communities, to perform the Greek national and religious customs, celebrations and mainly to preserve the Greek language (Philippaki – Warburton, 2009). They also retreat to the past, to the ancient Greek values, for example cleverness, 'philotimo', honour, heroism, in order to empower their vulnerable national pride and dignity (Koufaki-Prepi, 1998). According to Tamvakis (2008), their glorious origin and the fact that they are representatives of Greece abroad, inculcate the need for preservation and transmission of the characteristics of ethnic identities.

These claims though, fail to consider that agents and actors change over time as a result of social interaction and changing social contexts (Archer, 2000). Ethnic identities are not given by birth, but are developed and re-developed in relation to the social context and time, the present, as well as the past. This emphasises Archer's dynamic system of identity development and not the anthropologically inspired notion of tradition. This calls for the examination of whether this rendition of Greek culture is advantageous to all people in the community, based on the idea that people may position themselves differently within the current context.

This section examined the development of personal and social identities, based on the theoretical framework of critical realism, as a morphogenetic process based on reflection of agents' commitments and concerns. Especially in migratory projects or contexts, new identities can be developed, by refusing former identities in a process of creating a new life. These special contexts can



include power struggles when minorities are viewed as a threat to the existing 'homogeneous' state (Berger and Lorenz, 2008). As a response to experiences of alienation and prejudice, minority groups either try to preserve their identities or turn to the past to create new ones (Myers, 2015). A means of turning to the past is memory, to which the attention now turns.

## **2. Memory, history and heritage: the interconnected concepts**

### **2.1. Memory: Bringing past into present**

Memories are important to the constitution of the selfhood and to the person who does the reflection, as they are used as a source of remembering (Archer, 2000, p. 137). Memories are individual, but they regularly move into the social realm, they become collective and start to evaluate, judge or reject (Schwarz, 2011; Archer, 2000, p. 139). Memory is important to both personal and social identities, but is contested socially. This is because collective/social memory is the product of the interaction between 'intellectual and cultural traditions' which guide the way past is represented, the 'memory makers' who utilise them selectively, as well as the 'memory consumers' who transform these memories based on their interests (Kansteiner, 2002, p. 180).

A critical part of diaspora identities is the construction, the transmission, celebration and inscription of memories. Ethnicity and ethnic identities are developed with memory. Ethnic identities are continuously re-developed by recalling old stories with the help of memory. People struggle or contest historical memories because they have foundational importance for social organisation in the present, for example to deal with the 'threats' of assimilation and a lost ethnic identity (Burrell and Panayi, 2006). The process of recalling memories is continuous, as immigrants struggle for memories that will bridge the past with the present. However, this process may eventually serve the present by recalling past events which will be adopted in order to suit current situations. Thus, remembering is subject to historicisation (Schwarz, 2011).

Educationalists and historians have noted two particularly powerful mechanisms for preserving or constructing historical memory. Firstly, the commemorations of wars, which is a place where individual and collective memories are connected. Commemorations are a way of expressing private emotions, as well as shared values. That is the reason why commemorations can be a powerful means of confirming ethnic identities (Benton and Curtis, 2010). Commemoration is a place of remembering, as well as forgetting, of selective memory. The process of remembering is at the same time a 'collective forgetting' or a selective memory. Secondly, the historical memory is conditioned with the exclusion of marginal groups or perspectives from dominant national narratives. The nation which unconsciously recalls the past as a daily routine, at the same time forgets the present, the contemporary historical moments. Thus, the process of a hypothetical remembering, is in fact a process of forgetting (Biling, 1995).

Commemorations, as will be subsequently discussed, cover the majority of the social subjects (history and culture) taught in Greek supplementary schools. These commemorations refer to glorious moments of the Greek nation, and take the form of celebrations for the victory of the Greek nation over the conquerors. According to Simpsi's (2014) study on the formation of ethnic identity as part of national celebrations in a Greek supplementary school, it was revealed that national celebrations were part of a common-shared historical continuum, which is the foundation for the establishment of a collective historical memory and 'a collective ethnic identity'. Not only do national commemorations contribute in forging ethnic identities, but with their practice, darker sides of memory and history can be suppressed, resulting in students' developing a falsified or singled – sided form of history.

During the last 20-30 years there has been a rise in the studies around memory in humanities and anthropology, and particularly in studies on fragmented memory and forgetting and their direct relation to ethnic identity construction (Mavroskoufis, 2012; Berliner, 2005; Gong, 2010). History teaching and textbook analysis in Greece are considered as examples of selective, fragmented

memory. School history in Greece does not include a variety of historical accounts and interpretations of historical facts. This, according to Mavroskoufis (2012, p.58), is exemplified by the very brief reference of the case of Greek Jews in Greek textbooks. This inevitably leads to students learning a fragmented and not a holistic history. This has implications for Greek supplementary education, as the textbooks which are mainly used, are those used for history teaching in mainstream schools in Greece. Students in Greek supplementary schools do not have any other means of learning 'official history' apart from the Greek school, so providing a fragmented or single-sided history based on selective memory, can lead to controversies and misconceptions.

In the next section, attention is drawn to the main theme of this research, the literature around history and its pedagogy. More specifically, it discusses literature on the controversy of history and how this is influenced by its relation to past and memories. It also examines how this contestation around history affects historical narratives and historiography. The next section particularly examines Greek historiography and how the values endorsed to this can help to explain history pedagogical practices.

### **3. Past lived as history**

#### **3.1. The complexity of history**

Diaspora identities may depend on the celebration of the past and memories, but the past, as Samuels (2004) argues, is always contested and is a complex social act. History, as the product of the past, is produced in a specific historical context. Historical narratives deal with human beings not only as actors, with characteristics and capacities which are historically specific, but also as subjects of the story. As subjects of the story, they provide their own views and subjective explanations on historical narratives (Trouillot, 1995, p. 22-24). So,

historical texts are subject to bias, in regards to the report of evidence and the source of information (Martin and Monte-Sano, 2008). These are features of narrativity, which is a characteristic element of historical writing. This narrativity is often biased, with a manipulative intent, relating to how material is selected and how the focus and attention of the historical narrative is selected (Leerssen, 2010, p. 72). All these render historical narratives with ambiguity and contestation.

The historical narrative of the 19<sup>th</sup> century turned its attention towards national histories and historians took the role of forging nation's identity. Nations were not only defined by their geographical borders, but notions of race and ethnicity were central to the formation of nations (Leerssen, 2008, p. 80-86). In Greece, questions around identity and ethnicity were raised for the first time during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. This was exemplified in Greek historiography, in which being Greek was directly associated with ethnicity and not with citizenship. 'Greekness' was also connected with having a common language, origin and religion (Zambeta, 2000, p. 148). 'Helleno-Christianity', the close association of 'Greekness' with religion, and particularly with Greek Orthodox Church, was invented by Spyridon Zambelios, one of the best-known Greek historians. Following the example of most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century historians who aimed to establish the continuity of their nations from antiquity to modern times, Zambelios with Konstantinos Paparregopoulos – the founder of the modern Greek historiography -, asserted the uninterrupted continuity of the Greek nation from the classical times to the Greek revolution of 1821 (Millas, 2008; Leerssen, 2008, p. 93).

The Greek historiography of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was also marked by the development of a negative attitude towards the 'other', who was characterised as barbarian and uncivilised. This was the result of the long-last period of Ottoman occupation and the resulted Greek revolution in 1821 (Millas, 2008). Greek identity is represented in contrast to the barbarian 'other', the Turks. However, as Zambeta (2000, p. 148) argues, these renditions of

identification are problematic, as they exclude an 'alternative collective identity'.

The above renditions of Greek identity fail to take into consideration that identity and difference, the self in relation to the other, are interconnected and the one relies on the other to exist (Lorenz, 2008, p. 25). As Parekh (2006, p. 239) points out: *'we cannot ground equality in human uniformity because the latter is inseparable from and ontologically no more important than human differences'*. Thus, people who are considered as "different" to our identity, are in fact required for the development of this identity.

Greek historiography is a particular example of how historians can become the protagonists of state formation and forging nation's identity (Berger et al., 1999; Leerssen, 2008; 86). The next section examines whether and how values and ideas derived from the Greek historiography continue to influence the development of educational policies and texts, despite wider socio-political changes.

### **3.2. History in the age of pluralism**

During the period after the 1960s political and intellectual change in the UK - a period of widespread social movements for civil rights and equality between ethnic groups (Chalmers, 2013) - identities were increasingly considered as a historical product and, rather than static and ahistorical essences, they were presented as dynamic constructions open to change (Leerssen, 2008). Especially after the 1980s and the shift from assimilation policies to respecting diversity in UK, various educational and cultural policies reflected the need for embracing pluralism. This is where history had played an important role, in embodying the past with a new, dynamic meaning in the present (Myers, 2015).

Nonetheless, in the age of pluralism and open societies, history, despite its dynamic notation, can also act in a way that can strengthen communities'

identities and render a sense of dignity between its members. It can be additionally considered as a means of differentiation and exclusion (Myers, 2006). This is reflected in post-war educational policies and texts and sources for immigrant students. Immigrant students were faced as a problem within the educational system and not as a means to explore their needs and the deeper causes of inequalities, such as gender and class (Green and Grosvenor, 1997).

Policies of Greek supplementary education, despite social and historical changes, appear to still reflect the ideology of Greek historiography regarding Greek ethnicity. Practices in Greek supplementary schools and the monocultural attitude to education is consistent with the state formation in a region set by ethnic religious ideology. Greece was the first country among the Balkans to develop a national consciousness and a national state, upon a nine-year-old war for its independence (1821-1829) (Millas, 2008, p. 490-491). Part of this doctoral study examines how these macro-structures can also affect pedagogical practices in these schools and subsequently, the development of students' identities. It also discusses how history was, and still can be a powerful means of a nation to forge people's identities. The following section proceeds to examine how not only history, but also heritage, is claimed to be central to the preservation and empowerment of ethnic identities (CEM, 2015).

#### **4. The past experienced as heritage**

Heritage was originally defined as *"the property which parents handed on to their children"* (Davison, 2008, p.31). Heritage includes beliefs, actions, images of people or events, material objects of the past or buildings and monuments (Shils, 1981). During the 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the concept of heritage was infused with a nationalistic meaning. National heritage was used to define a body of habits, customs and political ideas based on which new

systems constructed their identities. Anthropologists during the 19<sup>th</sup> century have attributed land with a nationalistic character (Davison, 2008). Similarly, even though in a less degree, the post-war movement developed an obsession with the preservation of heritage, a nostalgia for the past and an eagerness for not forgetting (Harrison et al, 2008, p.2). The situation has not been changed in the modern world as heritage was used to build a sense of nationhood. An example of that is the Greek community, which aims at preserving heritage practices in order to maintain a sense of belonging within the members of the community.

People find consolation to a claimed glorious past as they feel obliged to their ancestors and their descendants to preserve their heritage and go against change (Davison, 2008). This is reminiscent of the provisions of the curriculum for supplementary education, which claim that Greek heritage should be preserved, to guard national Greek identity against the threats of assimilation when living in a pluralist society (CEM, 2015).

Heritage can be a means of developing identities, by attempting to produce a sense of 'filiation', connection and continuity with former recipients of tradition (Shils, 1981). In 1980s much academic work in this area was anthropologically inspired, but in other work, the meaning of heritage is being contested. Identity development is performed through recalling 'national stories' and elements of tradition, using memory. However, personal and social memory, as has already been discussed, is selective and thus remembers or forgets suitable past facts. Therefore, traditions can also be characterised as 'selective traditions', which are invested with facticity (Hall, 1999). This is the characteristic of the so called 'invented traditions'.

Invented traditions are fixed practices guided by a set of rules and they have a 'ritual and symbolic nature', aiming at instilling values and norms by repeating them, in order to establish a bond and continuity from past to present (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2012). This is reminiscent of the practices of the Greek community and the purposes of Greek supplementary schools.

Since these practices are viewed as 'fixed', they are accepted and performed faithfully and are not subject to criticism.

When history is experienced and taught as a fixed practice, as heritage, it endorses bias, as it purposely omits elements of the past to serve current purposes. It utilises the past to preserve and transmit certain myths of origin, based on a continuous historical past, with people pursuing a common purpose. As such, it continues to flourish based on people's ignorance, falsified accounts of past and acts of imagination (Lowenthal, 1998; Makriyianni and Psaltis, 2007). While heritage is held as a "dogma of roots and origins" and must be followed faithfully (Lowenthal, 1998, p. 2), history is subject to contestation and debates, and as such, it encourages the interpretation of various historical accounts.

However, tradition in the age of pluralism, is infused by hybrid cultural traditions. Within this context, traditions and its constitutive elements, such as customs and rituals are re-negotiated and re-invented, rendering heritage contested (Hall, 1999; Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2012). Harrison et al (2008) also point out the dynamic element of heritage, as heritage draws on the power of past to produce the present and shape the future. However, immigrants, and specifically Greek immigrants, insist in following faithfully and preserving the Greek customs and tradition, considering pluralism as a threat to the community's well-being (Philippaki-Warburton, 2009). As a result, immigrants turn to a celebration of the past through heritage and history teaching and practicing commemorations.

Heritage education includes commemorations, celebrations and practices of customs and museum education. Compared to history teaching, the extant literature on the teaching of heritage is not extensive. This study examines whether heritage and history education renders the past more appealing, relevant and accessible to students, in order for them to be able to understand the present and 'shape' their future (Harrison et al, 2008, p.1) or whether it



endorses particular representations of the past, aiming to preserve and transmit fixed cultural practices to the following generations.

Section A examined how identities are stratified, are developed in different levels and they are affected by macro-structures and contextual changes. In the case of this research, there are on the one hand, the views and norms existing since the formation of the Greek state from the 19<sup>th</sup> until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and on the other hand, the recent migration flows with its subsequent results and the fluidity in postmodern era.

The next section begins by providing an explanatory framework for the existing pedagogic practices in Greece and Cyprus. It proceeds in examining the controversy around history teaching and how can this be practiced, as well as existing ideologies and values affect students' motivation and identity development in supplementary schools.

## **B. The pedagogy of history and heritage teaching**

### **1.1. Setting the context**

The significance of pedagogy for minority communities became increasingly clear in the cultural revolution that occurred during the second half of the twentieth century. Although no area of European society was untouched by this revolution, education and its socialising role in society was increasingly contested (Cannadine et al, 2011). Where the civilising status of education had once been taken for granted, and in England teaching was considered as an unproblematic practice widely associated with feminine qualities (Steedman, 1985; Oram, 1996), the 1960s brought new scrutiny to these issues.

During the '60s, there was a shift in academic discussions, from a traditional teaching of history as a series of chronological facts, dates and narratives, to a more 'progressive' teaching of history. The purpose of the progressive teaching was to engage students in active and empathetic learning, inculcate their curiosity and develop their skills (Cannadine et al, 2011).

The educational changes during the '60s – '70s have led to a significant shift in the pedagogy of history teaching. During this period, the SHP (Schools History Project), was set up in 1972, to stimulate a radical re-think of the purpose and practices of history education in schools. SHP inspires and provides guidance to history teachers through the provision of courses, learning resources and training (SHP, 2015). Based on the SHP, class methods and approaches should be tailored to create an active learning environment, in which the outcomes will aim towards enhancing students' abilities and skills, rather than focus on the memorization of facts. This process involved progressing from a teacher-centred approach, in which the teacher is the transmitter of information, to a student-centred approach (SHP, 1976).

Yet, if the purposes and practices of history were a matter of significant educational debate in England, there were no similar debates in Greece. There, history teaching continued to impart a dominant national narrative that asserts the continuity of the Greek nation since antiquity and is based on traditional teaching approaches. Teaching and pedagogy in Greece, was, and still in many cases is, teacher-centred, following the 'chalk and talk' approach (Veikou et al, 2007 p. 10; Mavroskoufis, 2010; Paraskevas et al, 2010). Empirical research as provided by Mavroskoufis (2007, as cited in Mavroskoufis, 2012, p. 55) and Mavroskoufis (2010, p. 5) also reveals the 'monolithic' and ethnocentric characteristics of history pedagogy in Greece, influenced by the values of identity construction in Modern Greece. The conservatism of history teaching in Greece was confirmed in a large-scale 1995 study of the content and pedagogy of history teaching. More than 30 000 students from twenty seven countries participated in this study. The research presented actual data which revealed that some Mediterranean countries scored above the

average rate in a 'traditional interpretation' of history and scoring below the average in 'critical interpretation of history'. The highest score in 'traditional interpretation of history' was from Greece, with a significant difference from the other countries which participated in the survey (von Borries, 2000). This was explained by the authors based on contextual factors, and more particularly that these countries were '*more traditional, religious, collective and poor societies*' (von Borries, 2000, p. 254).

Even though the above research was conducted twenty years ago, its results, as far as Greece is concerned, are still relevant today. Based on a research conducted in a multi-ethnic mainstream school in Greece, teachers responded that the Greek National Curriculum is characterised by ethnocentrism, while history as a subject follows a 'monolithic dimension', and thus does not embrace cultural diversity. Most of the teachers in the research were in a dilemma about adopting a traditional or progressive approach to history teaching and expressed the need for an adaptation of a new approach in history education, not based on ethnocentric approaches (Georgiadis and Zisimos, 2008).

Despite the fact that the results of this research cannot be generalised, similar results have been revealed by other research conducted in Cyprus, which stress the nationalistic character of the curricula in Greece and Cyprus. The teaching methods used in Cyprus are mainly teacher-centred, emphasizing teachers' authority to deliver knowledge and decide on students' learning. These teaching approaches are also based on a single national narrative, which does not incorporate a variety of interpretations to develop students' critical thinking (Psaltis et al, 2011; Makriyianni and Psaltis, 2007, p.56). History pedagogy in Greece and Cyprus promotes nation building and unity based on a glorious heritage and past and a single narrative (Perikleous, 2010; Perikleous, 2014). Teachers are guided by all these assumptions, attitudes and beliefs, which have an effect on pedagogic practices and are a contributing factor in not proceeding towards a more progressive curriculum and teaching approaches (Philippou, 2009:1; Spyrou, 2011; Zembylas, 2010; Gogonas, 2010).

Apart from this, Greece's and Cyprus' educational policy was and still is characterised by the policy of single textbook monopoly in all subjects and grades (Papakosta, 2017; Philippou, 2007; Philippou, 2012:1). This certainly affects nation building, acts of imagination and notions of teaching professionalism (Fuchs, 2011; Philippou, 2009:2; Philippou, 2012:2).

The results of the research in Greece and Cyprus, help to explain both the content and tone of the curriculum for Greek supplementary schools. The relevance of such a didactic curriculum, whose aim is to socialise students into an ethicised Greek identity, is a matter that this research seeks to address. However, other research in Greek supplementary schools in UK revealed that teachers' experience in multicultural settings was crucial in shaping their conceptions and approaches regarding intercultural education, language, culture and identity (Pantazi, 2006; Pantazi, 2008; Pantazi, 2010). This signifies the importance of the context and experiences in shaping teachers' views and practices in similar settings.

## **1.2. The controversy around history teaching**

History teaching and pedagogy is not only influenced by contextual factors and teachers' values and practices. History as a teaching subject itself is controversial. History, is a school subject which deals with difficult and controversial and sensitive subjects that affect people and society in general (Philips, 2008). Controversial issues can be considered as those which can deeply divide society, attract public interest, and as such, cause arguments, debates and conflicting ideologies based on political, religious or economic interests (CCEA, 2015). This can have implications on teaching practices, and subsequently, and most importantly, students' learning.

An example of a controversial history subject is the Turkish invasion in Cyprus in 1974 (Perikleous, 2010). The controversy lies on the fact that Greek and Cypriot textbooks reproduce an image of the 'other' as barbarian, based on a single

narrative. This creates an ambivalence regarding Cypriot identity and the image of the 'other' (Klerides, 2016). The controversies surrounding the Turkish invasion in Cyprus resonate in mainstream schools in Cyprus. The findings of a research in mainstream, elementary schools in Cyprus by Zembylas and Kambani (2012) indicate that the teaching of the Turkish invasion can be influenced by the reactions from parents and the community, as well as recent familial memories and experiences. As the Turkish invasion in Cyprus forms a significant part of the history curriculum of Greek supplementary education (CEM, 2015), this doctoral study examines how teachers in Greek supplementary schools deal with such controversial subjects. Critical realism theory stresses the influence of students' background, memories and experiences in developing students' identities. This study examines how students' context and background affect teaching controversial issues and how this, in turn, influences students' learning.

Given the controversies associated with the Turkish invasion, it is not surprising that researchers have found teachers to be less engaged in teaching of controversial issues (Zembylas and Kambani, 2012). Teachers' scant or inadequate training in teaching history and particularly controversial issues and sensitivity of these issues can be considered as another reason for teachers' reluctance in incorporating controversial issues in their teaching (Gülçin and Dursun, 2013).

Another reason for teachers' reluctance to include controversial issues in history teaching according to Zembylas and Kambani (2012) research on teaching controversial issues in Cyprus, is teachers' claim of students' immaturity to study these issues and examine different perspectives. Some teachers claim that history, is a subject that includes abstract concepts and complicated narratives whose introduction should be carefully considered alongside developmental growth (Husbands and Pendry, 2000). Older research, based on Piaget developmental theory, claimed that specifically for history teaching, children could not understand abstract concepts before the age of fifteen years old (Hallam, 1969; Sleeper, 1975).

Far from being a problem though, psychological research on deductive reasoning suggests that controversial issues in history teaching can develop and enhance students' skills and students' understanding of contemporary issues (Donaldson, 1978). Based on a more recent study conducted in Northern Ireland, secondary school students were able to develop sophisticated understandings and a persuasive discourse on complicated issues regarding the political dimensions of the history of Northern Ireland (McCully and Barton, 2010). Cooper (2013, p. 103) suggests that students can develop arguments on historical evidence, with the incorporation of appropriate teaching activities, for example 'memorable learning experiences', open-ended questions and the teaching of relevant vocabulary. It can thus be inferred that controversial issues can be incorporated in history teaching to promote democratic discussion, that has potential to lead to a positive and friendly classroom environment (Grosvenor, 2000).

However, teachers' reluctance to incorporate controversial issues in history teaching or integrate diverse historical accounts in their teaching can lead in generating students' preconceptions. This issue will be examined in more details in the following section.

## **2. The development of students' preconceptions in history learning**

Students' preconceptions typically lie in the idea of a deficit past and that the present is better compared to the past. The idea of a deficit past can be intensified by unofficial accounts from students' social environment (Philips, 2008; Lee, 2005, p. 35-45), as well as the educational system (Perikleous, 2011). This comes in contrast with the view of a heroic and glorious past prevailing in Greek historiography, textbooks and teaching approaches, which Greek immigrants wish to preserve and transmit to the following generations. A common-place for Greek immigrants is a sense of nostalgia for their home country. Nostalgia is usually endorsed with positive emotions and reflection of past events and memories related to happiness (Zhou et al, 2008). This leads

Greek immigrants to search for ways of re-producing this glorious and nostalgic image of the past, through maintaining and celebrating ethnic values.

More particularly, and related to this research, children of migrant heritage have difficulties in adjusting their own historical perspectives with those of the official curriculum or deciding which historical account to believe, the accounts from their close environment or the knowledge received from their school. This can inevitably lead in creating a mythical or falsified account of their historical past (Levstik, 2000, p. 285). As discussed before, students in Greek supplementary schools can develop preconceptions or misconceptions from their micro environment, which can be intensified by views and claims existing from the Greek historiography up to now. This may be related to the idea of a glorious past and the perception of the 'other'. This research examines whether teachers' own misconceptions influence students' ability to develop historical thinking, and how students' macro and micro contexts can influence students' preconceptions around history.

Sections one and two demonstrated that despite wider socio-political changes, Greece and Cyprus pedagogy and history teaching still follows monolithic, traditional approaches guided by deeply rooted values and ideas regarding Greek ethnicity since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The next section explores how these issues can directly influence students' motivation and engagement in Greek supplementary schools and discusses how active and experiential learning, in combination with engaging activities can lead to increasing students' enthusiasm in history teaching.

### **3. Students' motivation and engagement in supplementary schools**

Contextual influences of the wider national stage, existing ideologies and teachers' pedagogic choices and practices, can have direct implications on students' motivation and engagement. Motivation is a complicated topic of psychology and behavioural theory. It relates to the level of commitment

people devote to the particular assignment, their interest in the assignment and the amount of time they are on-task (Urdan and Schoenfelder, 2006). The level of students' motivation and performance can depend on whether the task is clearly defined and focused (Stipek, 2002). Students' motivation and level of historical understanding can also be increased when history teaching is not specifically focused on historical facts, but offers a dynamic knowledge which is continuously evolving (Lee, 2005).

Students' historical empathy with past behaviours and actions is a teaching strategy which can increase the level of students' engagement during history teaching (Lee, 2005). Empathy reveals students' emotions, asking them to feel as historical actors might have felt. It thus widens explanatory frameworks that students might use to explain behaviour, minimising their preconceptions (Counsell, 2000; Husbands and Pendry, 2000). Role play or enactment, fiction literature study, are considered as activities which can facilitate the generation of students' empathy (Luff, 2000; Mills, 1995). Empathetic learning can have a specific significance for students attending Greek supplementary schools. This can be achieved through empathizing and understanding the 'other' and by doing that, respect their actions, beliefs and ideas (Perikleous, 2011).

Students' level of motivation and engagement in Greek supplementary schools, is an issue which this study examines. According to the existing literature, a wide range of factors can influence students' motivation and engagement in Greek supplementary schools. These factors range from influences from the wider macro-structure and influences of a dominant national narrative, students' micro-structure - social environment, family and students as members of a community -, teaching practices, as well as operational factors, such as the time of operation of these schools.

Immigrant students' demotivation in attending supplementary schools is a theme which was examined in several studies on supplementary education. Both in older and more recent research in Greek supplementary and day



schools in the USA and Canada, students' motivation appears to decrease as the generations of Greek immigrants progress (Constantinides and Tsimpos, 1999; Kourvetaris, 2008). This is problematic for the survival of these schools and requires further examination to investigate whether this is still the case for students attending Greek supplementary schools in England.

Immigrant students' motivation was examined in research conducted twenty years ago in Greek supplementary schools in UK, as well as USA and Canada, countries with a large number of immigrant students. Based on this research, the reasons for students' demotivation and disengagement were attributed to the time and day of operation, the non-suitability of the teaching methods and resources and mixed-level classes in Greek supplementary schools (Karadjia-Stavlioti and Louka-Crann, 1999; Constantinides and Tsimpos, 1999; Spyridakis and Konstantakou, 1999). Other reasons for students' demotivation, as were considered by parents, was the inadequacy of teachers' training (Constantinides and Tsimpos, 1999) and teachers' lack of knowledge on how to motivate students (Spyridakis and Konstantakou, 1999). The limited teaching time was also claimed to be a disadvantage in students' learning in older and more recent research in Greek and Chinese supplementary schools (Mau et al, 2009; Constantinides and Tsimpos, 1999). This research was conducted using questionnaires and documents and only parents or only students as sample, so the attitudes were not corroborated or confirmed.

More recent research on supplementary schools, appears to have similar results. Based on a large-scale research conducted in supplementary schools in England by Maylor et al, (2010), aiming at investigating the contributing factors for student attainment and progress, it was revealed that some of the immigrant students, especially the younger ones, were not motivated to attend their supplementary school. This was attributed to the fact that attending supplementary school was perceived by the students as purposeless. The hours of operation of supplementary school, appear to be another factor for students' demotivation, as attending school on Saturdays

restricted students' freedom of doing the pleasure activities they used to do on that day (Maylor et al, 2010).

More recent research in Greek supplementary schools in UK uncovered deeper, pedagogical issues for students' demotivation. Research by Sideropoulou and Danielidou (2004), conducted by using questionnaires, aimed at surveying pupils' attitudes on attending Greek supplementary schools. What is of particular interest is that almost half of the students in this research responded that they do not find the activities of their Greek school as interesting and only a very small percentage considered these as interesting. More than half percent of the students considered that the textbooks and language activities were (quite – very) difficult and that they did not correspond to their interests and their language level.

Even though the results of this research were not triangulated, Deligianni and Louka's research (2004) on teaching history in Greek day and supplementary schools during the same time period, revealed similar results. A large percentage of students responded that they find their written tasks very difficult. Another problem that students faced, according to this research was that they did not understand the textbooks used. Papatheodorou (2007) also pointed out the problematic feature of the Greek supplementary schools, that the formal and didactic teaching methods and resources used, do not coincide with children's learning experiences and needs. All these have negative implications on students' motivation and engagement during learning in Greek supplementary schools.

Students' motivation and engagement in history teaching, can also be related to the content of the history lesson. According to Deligianni and Louka's (2004) research, more than half of the students reported that they most enjoyed learning about mythology, while learning about the life of heroes and historical war facts received lower percentages. The students in the same research, were not interested in learning about the history of Greek diaspora in Britain, even though they would not find this boring. The teaching of the Greek

migration in England, is not included in the curriculum for Greek supplementary education. The reference to these issues is done sporadically and occasionally and not systematically. However, through learning about the history of Greek diaspora, minority students are able to locate themselves within the context of their community and develop their judgement about the pluralist society in which they are part (Chourdakis, 2001:2).

Not only pedagogic, but also social factors and factors from their micro-context appear to affect students' motivation. According to older research conducted in Greek supplementary schools in UK, students were positive about attending the Greek school because most of them wanted to know about their country of origin, meet their friends in the school, learn Greek music and dances and participate in the life of the Greek community (Karadjia-Stavlioti and Louka-Crann, 1999). The more recent research of Sideropoulou and Danielidou (2004) revealed that the formation of friendships in Greek supplementary schools was one of the basic reasons for attending these. Thus, the social impact of attending Greek supplementary schools appears to contribute positively in enhancing students' motivation. However, as Papatheodorou (2007) argues, children are not engaged in learning their mother tongue because they feel that they will be excluded by their peers (presumably at their mainstream school) due to the inferior status of minority languages.

Papatheodorou's (2007) research implemented a programme based on principles of socio-cultural theories and developmental practices, adjusted to children's experiences, Greek cultural facts extracted from their social life and purposeful and multisensory activities. During the implementation of this programme, students appeared to be more actively engaged in learning the Greek language.

Contrary to the research in Greek supplementary schools, research surveying students' attitudes in supplementary schools in England, revealed that students were engaged in a wide range of learning activities and valued the

opportunities given for their educational improvement (Strand, 2007). This may be attributed to the fact that students in these schools were given the opportunity to be engaged in a variety of learning activities in a supportive environment that valued their learning. Generally, in the literature and studies of supplementary schools, there was, and until recently there is a tendency to valorise these institutions as necessarily providing valued learning and experiences to their students and to consider these as a response to the inadequacy of the mainstream education system to care for the cultural and educational needs of minority children (Zulfiqar, 1997; Archer and Francis, 2006; Archer et al, 2009).

This research reveals how students' level of motivation and engagement can be increased when they are engaged in active learning in which they are able to uncover their feelings and relate learning activities to their experiences.

#### **4. Active learning and students' motivation and engagement**

Students' demotivation in supplementary schools, as the research discussed above disclosed, can be attributed to traditional teaching practices, resources and operational factors. All these call for the incorporation of strategies which can actively engage students in history learning, and cultivate their historical thinking and historical consciousness.

Active learning involves students as active and reflective learners. Students are at the centre of the learning process and are encouraged to process historical information, by critically comparing texts and sources, participate in dialogue and develop imaginative, affective and interpretative skills (Philips, 2008). Taking into consideration that active learning can provide these benefits in students' learning, it can subsequently lead in increasing students' motivation and engagement. Studies in traditionally-centred settings, have revealed the impact of the incorporation of active learning strategies and activities in enhancing students' motivation and engagement in history teaching. In

addition, active learning in this research resulted in students developing a positive attitude towards history learning and higher level of achievement (Sanap, 2013; Sprau and Keig, 2001).

The above studies reveal the significance of incorporating approaches and innovative techniques in traditional learning settings, for example in Greece and Cyprus pedagogical practices, to increase students' motivation and engagement. This is important, as students in active learning can find meaning in studying and learning history and are more actively engaged as they are able to relate the past with their own experiences (SHP, 2015).

### **5. Kolb's experiential theory and history teaching**

A theory which supports and incorporates active and student-centred learning is Kolb's experiential learning theory. Compared to other theories (for example behavioural and cognitive theories), experience plays a central role in learning (Kolb, 1984). According to Kolb (1984, p. 26):

*"learning is the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience".*

What is more important though, is that knowledge and ideas in experiential learning are not fixed but are continuously transformed through experience. This is important, as the theoretical and empirical underpinning of this research is based on the fact that social actors, live and experience in a rapidly changing world marked with fluidity and instability. In such circumstances, culture is not simply transmitted or received, but is modified by agents who act in a historical context. The production of historical narratives is part of the cultural system and it conditions the development of social actors' identities, as they undergo a process of reflection through morphogenesis (Archer, 2000).

Experiential learning theory provides a solid and persuasive developmental account of learning as it draws on and is influenced by (among others), the

work of Piaget (Kolb, 1984). The development of adult thinking, according to Piaget, lies on the experience, conceptualization, reflection and action (Piaget, 1970). Piaget supports the idea that people can decide for themselves and develop their selves based on their personal needs, in contrast to the Greek conservative society which is driven and influenced by certain norms and values.

The influence of developmental theory of Piaget on Kolb's experiential theory is obvious in the development of the four stages of learning, which form Kolb's learning cycle. The process of reflection, which is significant to this research, is also an important stage in Kolb's learning cycle. The learner firstly takes part in a concrete experience, which is the basis of the second part of the learning cycle, the reflective observation. This stage involves reflecting and reviewing on that experience. These stages are followed by the development of abstract concepts (abstract conceptualization), a stage in which the learner analyses knowledge and ends up with generalisations and conclusions. This stage has implications on the last stage of the cycle, which includes active experimentation, during which the learner actively tests these conclusions in other situations (Kolb et al, 2000; Saul McLeod, 2013). Thus, the experience is transformed into knowledge through reflection and active experimentation. The connection between Archer's theory on identity and Kolb's experiential theory and learning, in regards to the role of reflection and experience in learning process, should now be clear. This consists one of the reasons for selecting this theory for active history teaching and learning in this research.

A number of studies have shown how experiential learning theory can be applied in history teaching. The application of experiential learning indicates how the incorporation of active learning can increase students' motivation and engagement in history learning (Svinicki and Dixon, 1987; Sprau and Keig 2001; Andermann and de Simine, 2012). The largest number of studies on experiential learning theory are related to the education field (Kolb et al, 2000). Particularly Kolb's learning cycle has been a significant input into the curriculum of many educational institutions (Tomkins and Ulus, 2016, p.160).

Throughout the previous sections it was proved that the incorporation of active and experiential learning increases the level of student's motivation and engagement in settings where traditional teaching approaches are followed. The next section draws on theory and research to examine how history teaching, particularly in supplementary schools, allows for students to negotiate their identities and develop historical consciousness.

### **C. The significance of pedagogy in history teaching and students' identity development**

#### **1.1. History teaching and identity**

History teaching is considered as a contributing factor for students' development of ethnic identities (Cannadine et al, 2011). The acquisition of ethnic identity can be considered as particularly important for those excluded from nation state identities. In Britain particularly, after the 1960s, immigrants and community members were engaged in historical research, which was a means for providing them a sense of identity, historical consciousness and dignity (Myers and Grosvenor, 2011).

Forging a sense of identity, dignity and respect though, should not be elided with historical consciousness. Historical consciousness raises the issue of 'knowing' the past and 'being', of living and positioning ourselves in a continuously changing and fluid world (Seixas, 2012, p. 865). Migration, economic and political situations and the subsequent instability in the postmodern world, bring challenges to educational settings. These changes necessitate a re-examination of educational policies, textbooks and practices in order to be adopted to the present situation and for students to be able to find their own position within this context (Quintero, 2009; Schissler, 2009, p. 2).

Teachers and schools should operate in a way which can lead to the development of students' historical consciousness. Historical knowledge should be dealt as something that is not static but open to investigation (Seixas, 2000, p. 23). Agents can develop their identities over time and throughout a changing context. History teaching enables students to become 'historical subjects', to position themselves in the world in time and space. It sets the base for students' historical consciousness, the framework for developing their identity (Seixas, 2012, p. 865, 871).

History teaching is important for pedagogical reasons particularly for ethnic minority students. An example of this, is the discrimination and racism that young people of African origin faced in pluralistic environments. Their past which was marked by colonialism and suppression, has rendered their identities vulnerable and were considered as 'passive victims' (Myers, 2011, p. 790). Black supplementary schooling though, provided an antidote by transforming the national curriculum of mainstream schools. It succeeded in providing an inclusive pedagogy, striving to remove the social marginal status of black communities, in order to be able to resist and transform. The most important achievement though, was that these schools work towards a child-centred education, providing the opportunity to students to negotiate their identities, rather than impose to them a set of pre-determined identity characteristics (Reay and Mirza, 1997). When schools manage to operate in this manner, they allow for the negotiation of identities according to their preferred way of living, in contrast to a predetermined way of developing identities inscribed in policies of Greek supplementary education.

## **1.2. Developing students' identities in supplementary schools**

Supplementary schooling as a defensive mechanism against the perceived threats of assimilation and the 'other', threats of a pluralistic context, seem to be the prevailing finding of research conducted in supplementary schools in UK. These statements were found in a comparative research conducted by



Hall et al (2002) in two supplementary schools in England and two others in Norway. In these supplementary schools, cultural continuity and the preservation of students' cultural identities were dominant themes. Supplementary schools were seen as a means of providing 'cultural security' in a hostile environment which neglects the existence of minorities as a constitutive element of a pluralistic society.

Similar statements were found in studies which dealt with the impact of community schools in the development of minority students' cultural and academic identities. More particularly, the comparative study of Prokopiou and Cline (2010) in a Greek and a Pakistani community school, has revealed that the Greek supplementary school focused on developing minority students' identities through the teaching of family and cultural values. Greek language teaching especially, was perceived as a means of protecting and preserving students' identities from surrounding threats. This was also confirmed by Sideropoulou and Danielidou (2004) research, in which, interestingly, the great percentage of the students declared that the Greek language is very important for the preservation of the Greek identity and origin. Research by Deligianni and Louka (2004) in the same period in Greek day and supplementary schools, revealed that language teaching prevails over history teaching. This shows the importance attributed to teaching the Greek language in these institutions as a means of identity construction.

This doctoral research proceeds to examine whether Greek language teaching continues to dominate over history teaching today and examines in more detail its implication on students' motivation in these schools. This is significant to this research because language teaching in Greece and the resources in Greek supplementary schools place emphasis on grammar and syntax, which can act as de-motivating factors for students (Pantazi, 2008). In general, during the '50s and '60s there were two approaches towards language teaching, the oral/situational and the audiolingual, which were influential in shaping language teaching practices in Europe (Richards and Rodgers, 2001). They are complementary and similar approaches, because

the situational approach strongly emphasises the teaching of grammar and the audiolingual approach the teaching of structure, which is considered the basis of language speaking. While these can be characterised as more traditional approaches in language teaching, in the late '60s there was a shift towards the communicative language teaching, the principles of which are more widely accepted in current practices. The language through this approach is learned/acquired through and used for communication and this should be the aim of the learning activities. Learning through this approach involves a creative process in which students are engaged in trial and error (Richards and Rodgers, 2001). For this reason, students in this approach are negotiators, they are more independent learners (Breen and Candlin, 1980, p. 110) and this contributes in being actively involved in the learning process and the development of their identities.

The communicative approach to language teaching is more relevant to Archer's theory on identity, in which students can negotiate their identities within their context. This is relevant with research in supplementary schools which, despite pedagogic practices aiming in preserving students' identities, students were able to think critically about their identities and they were provided with the tools to do so. Based on research conducted in two Chinese supplementary schools, teaching practices were based on teachers' and parents' 'emphasis' on a static notion of Chinese culture and past. However, students do not seem to incorporate these claims, as they view China as evolving and changing and not as something which exists only in historical past (Wei and Wu, 2010).

Further research in Chinese supplementary schools in UK revealed the contestation regarding the development of students' identities in supplementary schools. While the aim of these Chinese supplementary schools is the preservation and strengthening students' identities, it has been revealed that other social factors, such as students socializing with their Chinese peers, contribute in developing students' identities (Francis et al, 2010). Interestingly, another research conducted in Chinese supplementary schools by Archer et

al (2008), showed that despite the 'old-fashioned' teaching and methods students enjoyed the 'holistic' way of teaching, which encompasses 'culture-rich' approach to learning. Students in these schools appeared to be motivated by the fact that their supplementary school provided them the ability act as more 'playful' learner identities, which was not possible in their mainstream school. Research conducted in a range of supplementary schools across England has also revealed a flexibility in multilingual teaching practices and the characteristics of teaching culture (Blackledge and Creese, 2010) and a flexibility of shifting between various languages and cultures (Creese et al, 2008). This provided the ability to the students to adopt to their environment and to negotiate their identities, as a response to teaching practices and opposing 'ideologies' of teaching materials.

The above research shows that there is still a long way to go until realizing the potential of history pedagogy for minority students. An example of this as an issue of public discussion is Albu's (2015) recent article, which raises the importance of transforming history teaching to become more inclusive. Despite the fact that the number of children born to minorities is rising in the USA, the pedagogy of history and the development of minorities' historical consciousness appear to be side-lined. In parallel, research in Greek supplementary schools revealed that these were viewed as sites of cultural transmission and identity preservation. This can be related to the influence of a wider national narrative, which views identities as product of historical continuity. This doctoral study examines whether history teaching in Greek supplementary schools leaves space for students to be developed as historical subjects or is still guided by pre-existing, primordial ideas of Greek ethnic identity.

**Summary:**

This chapter discussed that despite the educational change of 60-70s in history pedagogic practices and the incorporation of active learning strategies, the policies and practices in Greek supplementary schools seem to neglect the impact of a morphogenetic context on students' identities and may act as sites of fostering nationalistic ideologies. All these take place in the late modern era, the era of rapid technological innovation, significant migration flows, as well as rapid changes in prescribed social roles in ethnic minorities.

The next chapter proceeds to examine the design and methodology employed in this doctoral study, as well as its theoretical explanatory framework which aimed at investigating and answering the research questions set in the introduction.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Methodology**

The literature review demonstrated that there is not an extensive literature on Greek supplementary schools in England. The methods that have been usually employed are qualitative, and particularly observations and interviews, or ethnographic studies (for example, Mau et al, 2009; Wei and Wu, 2010; Archer et al, 2009; Chao-Jung, 2006; Martin et al, 2006; Blackledge and Creese, 2010). Where case study designs have been utilised, they have usually employed qualitative methods and, more specifically, a mixture of observations and interviews (for example Hall et al, 2002). However, this doctoral study is different because of the range of data collection methods employed and the theoretical underpinning of the research.

This research uses mixed methods research, following a case-study design. This allows for employing and integrating multiple methods in the research. Mixed-methods research allows for a holistic view of a phenomenon, complementarity of research data, which can eventually lead to stronger inferences (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003). The research was implemented following a sequential explanatory strategy and it featured quantitative and qualitative phases. These phases were implemented employing quantitative and qualitative methods, document analysis, questionnaires, interviews and ethnographic observation. All phases were based on a sample of students and teachers with experience of Greek supplementary schools in the U.K. The overarching philosophy underpinning this research is critical realism. Critical realism is consistent with case study design and mixed-methods research, as it allows for both the micro and macro examination of phenomena, utilising various methods of research.

This chapter introduces and explains mixed-methods research and presents a rationale for the adoption of mixed methods in this study of Greek supplementary schools. It also provides a justification of the epistemological

and philosophical assumptions around mixed methods research and their applicability to the study. This chapter also offers a general assessment of the utility of mixed methods research and identifies key strengths and weaknesses in a study designed to explore the relationship between social change, pedagogy and its consequences for identity formation in Greek supplementary schools. More particularly, it examines the strengths and weaknesses of the quantitative and qualitative methods employed in the research and how these were used in the research. It also draws on issues of the researcher's positionality and the ethics process for this research.

## **A. The Research Design:**

### **1. Case Study Design**

The design adopted in this research is best understood as case study research. Yin (2003) defines case study as a research approach which involves an in-depth investigation of a specific case, within its context, using various methods of data collection. This research concerns four case studies of Greek supplementary schools in England, using a mixed-methods methodology.

Approximately forty schools were informed about the research. Of these, nine schools expressed their interest to participate in this research. However, only four schools participated in both phases of the research, and so the data of the remaining schools were not included in the research. The four schools which participated in both phases of the research were included in the research as the case study schools.

The study of four Greek supplementary schools can be a reason for assuming a lack of generalisation of the results to a wider population and can be claimed as a limitation of the research (De Vaus, 2001). However, the search for generalisation in social science can overtly avoid obtaining exemplary knowledge. Exemplary knowledge is defined by Thomas and Myers (2015,

p.39) as *“an example viewed and heard in the context of another's experience .... but used in the context of one's own”*. So, what can be considered as a limitation for this research is transferability, whether the results can be transferred to other contexts with other participants (Bitsch, 2005). This limitation can be minimised through conducting further research, which is discussed in chapter 8.

Thomas and Myers (2015, p.7) point out that a case study concerns the examination and analysis of a single phenomenon. The ‘instance’ of a phenomenon is the subject of the study, while the phenomenon is the object of the study (Thomas and Myers, 2015, p.8). The subject of this research were the Greek supplementary schools. These provided the ‘explanans’ – the case which does the explanation – the historical, social context in which the object of the study, the ‘explanandum’ was explained (Thomas, 2011). The object in this research, the analytical and theoretical frame of the research, was the examination and investigation of the teaching and learning of history and tradition, based on teachers’ and students’ views and practices. Thus, the study of these cases was used to throw light and examine the object of the study in detail.

Case studies contribute in examining and understanding the ‘how’ and the ‘why’ of a phenomenon. A case study design was selected for this research, since it provides a holistic, in-depth exploration and explication of the teaching practices in Greek supplementary schools, placed in a wider context (Thomas and Myers, 2015). For these reasons, a case study design enabled an in-depth examination of these four Greek supplementary schools using quantitative and qualitative methods. A case study design allows the employment of a variety of research methods to explore a phenomenon and it was a suitable design for encompassing a mixed-methods methodology in this research. The history of Greek migration and participants’ background information were captured in the pre-phase and quantitative phase of the research. These data were further clarified and elaborated with the interviews and ethnographic observations in the qualitative phase of the research. The cases which were

selected as the subjects of the research were also 'key cases' (Thomas and Myers, 2015). The schools were selected based on pedagogical practices and interesting contextual factors, such as schools' and participants' distinct characteristics. These are explained in more details in chapter 5 (see also App. 3, tables no. 1, 4, 5).

The case studies of this research were multiple-parallel case studies. The exploration of the case studies and the research methods were conducted at the same period, in a parallel time-period in 2014 and 2015. The studies were a snapshot of the students and teachers' attitudes, perceptions and practices, studied within the current context of socio-political changes. However, the case studies, and especially the case study of Greek School B was also retrospective, as it involved a comparison of former students' attitudes and views with current students. Documentary research regarding the history of Greek migration in the UK was also employed to examine whether past normative views and values continue to effect teaching practices and students' identity development.

The case studies of this research are also characterised as multiple-nested case studies, as a comparison was not only conducted between the case studies themselves, but also between nested elements within each case study (Thomas and Myers, 2015). For this reason, teachers' and students' views and practices were compared within each case study. A particular characteristic of nested case studies is the examination and comparison of the nested elements within each school within the context of each case study school (Thomas and Myers, 2015). In this research, the integral elements of each case study school were illuminated based on the background characteristics of each school and the policies and the characteristics of supplementary education.



## **B. The research methodology**

### **1.1. Theoretical and practical applicability of mixed-methods research**

The theoretical underpinning of this research was based on the theory of critical realism. As has already been discussed in chapter 1, the theory of critical realism allows for the examination of how the agency is constructed – micro-examination – and of the wider structure in which this is positioned – macro examination (Sayer, 1992). In this doctoral study, the macro level constitutes the ideology around Greek and Cypriot nation building, the historical processes around Greek and Cypriot migration and the wider social changes in Greece and Cyprus during the last years, for example the economic crisis.

The meso level is between the macro and the micro level, it is influenced by the macro level and in turn, it influences the micro level. In this doctoral study, it represents the close social environment of the students attending Greek supplementary school, their family, the Greek supplementary schools and the community. This includes the representations of the agents in these places and the interactions among them. Lastly, the micro level for this research are the pedagogic practices in the classroom and how these affect students' learning and motivation and the relations between the students and teachers within the classroom environment. This research examines the connection and the interdependence of these levels and the influence of the macro and meso level on the micro level, the pedagogy and classroom practices of history and heritage in Greek supplementary schools. These are placed and influenced by the macro-level which consists of the wider social, historical structure norms and primordial values which condition and influence the agency.

This micro and macro examination of the research questions was undertaken using different research methods. More specifically, a mixed-methods methodology was employed, placed in a case-study design. Notwithstanding

the novelty or the debate regarding mixed methods research (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Morse, 2003), the term *mixed methods research* is used in this research. Mixed methods research can be defined as the type of research in which qualitative and quantitative approaches are combined, to provide a more extensive and deep understanding and to corroborate/triangulate the research results (Johnson et al, 2007). In mixed methods research, the findings of the quantitative part of the research can be elucidated with the rich data extracted from the qualitative component of the research (Bryman, 2006). All the above may result in what Greene et al (1989) explains as *complementarity*. The data from each phase of the research supplement each other, are interconnected and mutually interdependent. Since a variety of quantitative and qualitative methods and approaches were used in this research, this provided a more comprehensive and holistic view of the research (Morse, 2003; Greene et al, 1989).

Critical realism is consistent with mixed-methods research and case study design. Mixed methods research allows for the division of various paradigms and approaches to be bridged. In this research, this was achieved by incorporating both qualitative and quantitative methods, which contributed in eliminating their weaknesses and enhancing their strengths (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Critical realism can bridge the differences between quantitative and qualitative approaches by embracing diversity. As Shannon-Baker (2016, p.331) argues, it can “*infer causal relationships that are contextually based and generalizable to others*”. While it empowers diverse voices to be heard, it acknowledges that these are only a partial representation of reality, as it reveals additional causal inferences and relationships among people, actions and ideas (Shannon-Baker, 2016; Maxwell and Mittapalli, 2010).

Recent research revealed the strengths of mixed methods research, and particularly its use in exploring the relationship between structure and agency. For example, Woolley (2009) conducted a mixed methods research to obtain young people's viewpoints on their personal agency. Similarly to this research,

the study discussed the connection between the structural factors and personal agency in the lives of young people. Conducting a mixed-methods research, enabled and facilitated the examination of this connection and elucidated different aspects of the research problem.

Another mixed-methods research by McKim (2015), examined graduate students' attitudes and perspectives on the value of mixed methods research. Students explained that mixed methods research is more rigorous, it allows multiple perspectives to be revealed and it provides a deep understanding of the issue examined. Indeed, mixed methods can provide stronger inferences, a term used instead of conclusions in mixed methods research (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003). As Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) support, the researcher with the combination of different methods of data collection has the opportunity to employ different voices in the research, which leads to a more accurate and complete description of the results of the research. This process of elucidation of the divergent aspects of a phenomenon is a basic principle of the mixed methods research (Johnson and Turner, 2003). In this study, both teachers' and students' attitudes and voices were heard, in order to be able to compare, contrast or even complement the answers provided regarding the issues under investigation. This provided the opportunity for different information and views to interweave and elucidate different parts of the research.

The benefits of mixed-methods research are also applicable in the education field. More particularly, the purpose of educational research is to study not only how people are internally formed, for example their attitudes and actions, but also the external, contextual phenomena, such as sociological factors that are related to or affect various educational aspects (Johnson and Christensen, 2008). Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) explain that 'epistemological and methodological pluralism' should be used in educational research, since contemporary research is gradually becoming interdisciplinary, which facilitates the inter-communication and collaboration between researchers which results in a more advanced research. As Follari (2014) argues, the

distinctions and debate between quantitative and qualitative methods are outdated and 'unjustified' and that the only differences should only be referred to the variety of projects.

## **1.2. Quantitative and qualitative research: can it be bridged?**

There are many debates regarding the difference between quantitative and qualitative research. More particularly, quantitative research tends to provide more exact and numerical data (Johnson and Onwuesbuzie, 2004; Matthews and Ross, 2010). In this research, quantitative methods provided key background information, with which participants were placed geographically and historically. Biographical data led to an understanding of the temporal sequencing of agency and the potential of explaining actors' perspectives, feelings and actions. In contrast to quantitative research, qualitative research provides more rich and detailed data (Brewer, 2003). It can provide deep and detailed information based on peoples' experiences (Snape and Spencer, 2003), placing emphasis on the meanings rather than the broad scope of the study (Brewer, 2003). In this research, qualitative methods were used to investigate issues such as students' negotiation and development of cultural, ethnic-identities through the teaching of culture. These issues are sensitive and personal and thus can become simplistically quantified if they are only captured through questionnaires. The construction of ethnic identities is undertaken in specific circumstances and so this research design attempts to identify these processes of meaning making of identity development.

The amalgamation of quantitative and qualitative research methods in this research, allowed for the 'macro' phenomena of the quantitative study to be complemented with the investigation of the 'micro' phenomena of the qualitative research (Bryman, 2004). This resulted in providing an extensive and deep understanding of the research phenomenon. So, mixed methods research was selected as an appropriate methodology for this research, since data from questionnaires and documents provided the social and historical

information which was used to locate the participants in the historical process of the Greek migration, by understanding its circumstances and its operation. Quantitative data provided the 'structure' in which the 'agency' the participants of the research, act. Structure temporally precedes agency and conditions subjects' perceptions, actions and behaviour. Mixed methods research with the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods of enquiry, using critical realism as theoretical framework, can allow for different voices and perspectives to be heard, placing them in their contextual background.

## **2. The strategy followed for this research**

The type of strategy which was selected to undertake this research project was the sequential explanatory strategy. This strategy involves the collection of data in two separate phases, the quantitative data selection and analysis at the beginning of the research and the qualitative data selection and analysis subsequently. The results of the two phases of the research were integrated at the end of the research during the interpretation stage (Creswell, 2003).

This research included three distinct phases. Before the actual research, a pre-phase involved searching and examining historical information regarding the Greek migration in the U.K. This was provided through the study of various documents, which is explored in section D.1 of this chapter. This information was temporally and historically connected with the information obtained from the first quantitative phase of the research, the social background of the teachers and students. These phases provided some elements of the structure, the macro-phenomena, that influence the actions of the 'people' – their agency. The social background of the Greek-Cypriot migrants, the wider historical context of their migration and establishment in the UK and the values, norms and ideas which carry with them, provided a baseline for understanding the way Greek communities were and are structured, the reasons for the establishment of Greek supplementary schools and to explain some of the pedagogic practices in these schools. The last phase of the research, the

qualitative research, provided the study of the micro-phenomena which were enlightened with the information received from the previous phases of the research.

This process is what Morse (2003) describes as *sequential triangulation*. Maxwell (2016, p. 21) supports that the integration of quantitative and qualitative data involves triangulation and initiation, a process which encompasses examining the discrepancies of the two datasets 'to develop richer and deeper understandings'. Since a variety of methods from both quantitative and qualitative approaches were used, the data extracted from both phases of the research were compared and contrasted, in order to corroborate the findings of the research and increase the credibility and validity of the study with triangulation (Bryman, 2004).

The implementation of the research involved considering some practicalities, such as ethical processes, but also some dilemmas concerning my positionality in the research. These issues are discussed in the sections C. 1 and 2 below.

## **C. Research processes and considerations**

### **1. Ethical process**

Access to Greek Supplementary schools was arranged in three ways. Firstly, I applied for and received approval for conducting research in the schools from the Cyprus Ministry of Education, the body with overall responsibility for the operation of Greek supplementary schools in UK. Secondly, and as part of the access arrangements agreed with the Cyprus Ministry of Education, I also approached individual head teachers and received a written consent form from the head teachers to conduct the research in the schools (see Appendix 1 for the head teachers' consent form). For the implementation of the research, I have received Ethics approval by the Humanities and Social Science Review Committee at the University of Birmingham. The research

complied and followed all the requirements within the Code of Practice for Research.

The participants were informed about the aims, the purpose and necessity of the research, their rights as participants and maintaining confidentiality in the participant information leaflet and the informed consent form (see appendix 1 for the participant information leaflet and consent forms). Confidentiality was maintained both during the conduct of the research and after the release of the findings. It was also explained that none of the participants will be identified publicly. For this reason, the participants were called based on their attributes e.g. Teacher-a, Student-a (Please see Appendix 3, tables 4 and 5).

All participants were required to complete a consent form for their participation in both phases of the research. Parental consent was sought for students' participation under 18 years old. All consent forms were in written form. Participants have expressed their wish to receive a debriefing of the findings by providing their details in the consent form. The ethical procedure also involved maintaining a continuous contact with the head teachers and the participants, to ask for and provide clarifications regarding the research process.

## **2. Considering positionality in research**

Researchers are socially and historically located and this affects their understanding and interpretation of theories, data and cultural values and ideas (Holmes, 2014). This understanding is also related and affected by researchers' positionality within a research. Positionality can be defined as "*the way in which others position the individual identity and affiliations he/she may have*" (Sanghera and Thapar-Bjorkert, 2008, p.553). Therefore, being an insider or an outsider researcher is a social construct.

As a teacher in Greek supplementary schools I experienced the institutional attempts of nation building and this urged me to examine how these attempts influence the pedagogy processes and identity development of students in Greek supplementary schools. When the research was conducted, I was also teaching in one of the Greek supplementary schools of the research. Thus, I was more able to understand the teaching practices of this school, placed in their micro and macro-context. The fact that I knew some of the participants, enabled in building a rapport between me and the participants, since the participants could 'open up' more easily (Sanghera and Thapar-Bjorkert, 2008: p. 557).

The access to these schools was facilitated by my role as an 'insider researcher' and as a teacher in Greek supplementary schools myself (Sanghera and Thapar Bjorkert, 2008, p. 556). My role as an insider researcher in Greek supplementary schools was influenced by the commonality of background characteristics with the participants in the research. Common characteristics involved being of the same gender, age and nationality with most the teachers who participated in the research.

The issue of being of the same nationality with the participants can be tentative. On the one hand, as a Greek-Cypriot myself, I was more able to understand and interpret particular attitudes, views and practices. On the other hand though, each participant had to be dealt differently, based on his/her background and experiences, to avoid the danger of interpreting all data based on common characteristics or views (e.g. normative views on Greek ethnic identity). Vazquez-Maggio and Wescott's (2014) research, examined how the researchers' insider status as migrants themselves interviewing other migrants, allowed them to position themselves in the research and provide an understanding of the experiences of the participants. This also developed feelings of empathy for the participants and their experiences. My position as an insider researcher enabled me to have a more affective understanding of the participants' feelings and experiences. The



participants were also more willing to share their experiences as an atmosphere of trust was built between me and the participants (Holmes, 2014).

Positionality as a social construct, can impinge on the complicated nature of power relations (Coy, 2006) and can influence the production and transmission of knowledge. As Sanghera and Thapar-Bjorkert (2008) point out, positionality 'governs the tone' of the research - the objectivity or subjectivity of the research. The tone of the research can also be affected by the researchers' experiences and viewpoint (Coy, 2006). Being an 'insider researcher' enabled me to understand whether participants' views are reliable and valid, since these can be elucidated and confirmed based on my experience as a teacher in Greek supplementary schools and as a migrant myself since 2010. This research, has allowed me to understand and interpret personal, social and ethnic expositions of identity and how people respond to these. As an insider researcher, I have gone through a process of reflection myself, and explored my own identity, position and responsibility as a teacher. The interpretations of the data and the final recommendations, are a result of a continuous process of reflection on my positioning, a process called 'reflexive positionality'. Throughout the research, I aimed at holding an objective stance, treating each case and participant as unique. In order to obtain the 'integrity' and reliability of the research, I had to clarify my role as a researcher to the participants (Nutt and Bell, 2002). This was achieved by providing the participants with the 'participants' information leaflet', in which participants were informed about my role as a researcher and their rights as participants (see Appendix 1, Participant Information Leaflet).

The sections below describe and discuss the process implementing the three phases of the research, the pre-phase - documentary research, the first-quantitative phase and the last qualitative phase of the research. They also provide justifications for the selection and application of quantitative and qualitative methods in this research.

## **D. The phases of the research**

### **1. The pre-phase of the research**

The pre-phase of the research involved documentary research and analysis regarding the historical background of the Greek and Greek-Cypriot migration and the establishment of Greek communities and Greek supplementary schools (Chapter four). Document analysis is defined as '*a systematic procedure of reviewing and evaluating documents, both printed and electronic ... material*' (Bowen, 2009, p. 27). It is not unusual for document research to be used in mixed-methods research (see for example Sogurno, 1997; Rossman and Wilson, 1985). This method was used in this research in combination with other research methods, to provide complementary and contextual research data, as well as a historical insight of the issues examined in this research to enhance their interpretation.

The pre-phase of the research provided information on the historical conditioning of the actors who were responsible for the establishment of communities and schools and the historical roots of the establishment of these institutions. It also employed information to explain how the practices in these institutions are influenced by certain representations of class, gender and ethnicity. This part of the research employed and evaluated a variety of sources and documents to examine variety of perspectives, ranging from official documents, as well as primary and secondary sources.

Official documents can either be private or public, located in national and local archives. Public resource material can be printed media resources, books, reports, proceedings and periodicals which can be accessible to researchers (McCulloch, 2004). Documentary research drew data from official state documents such as parliamentary papers, select committee papers, which were retrieved after searching in the archive of the House of Commons Parliamentary Papers and education reports available online. Educational reports, pamphlets, books and articles published during the main periods of

Greek migration in U.K. were retrieved from institutional records and particularly the Ethnicity and Migration Collection at the University of Warwick library.

Primary source data also included articles with data regarding the social and psychological state of migrants and existing oral history presenting personal accounts and experiences of first and second-generation migrants (please see reference list for the primary sources used). These personal accounts represent private views and perceptions, aspirations and emotions of these actors (McCulloch, 2004, p. 86). On the other hand, official documents are modelled based on the structure and activities of the state, and are products influenced by the policy, administration and interests of social agencies (Scott, 1990, p. 59). Therefore, understanding how these documents are sculptured was taken into consideration in the critical evaluation and analysis of the documents and sources, as documents are social products and are subject to sociological analysis (McCulloch, 2004, p.5).

During the evaluation and analysis of the documents, the social and historical context of the text was taken into consideration, as well as the purpose of their production, the author and his target audience (Scott, 1990, p. 37; Bowen, 2009, p. 28-29). This analysis provided important information on how migrants were considered and presented historically and whether this representation continues until today, conditioning and perpetuating particular social and cultural values.

## **2. Sampling**

The sample of this research consisted of a stratified purposeful sample, combining qualitative and quantitative sampling (Robson, 2002, p. 265). Participants were recruited by advertising the call for participants in postings on social media web pages, places of Greek community's gatherings and through the head teachers' of the schools (see Appendix 1 for Advertisement). Participants had the ability to show their willingness to proceed to further

research in the consent form. This facilitated the identification and selection of participants for the second phase of the research. Follow-up e-mails were also sent to confirm participants' participation in the second phase of the research.

The total number of participants whose data were included in the research were 58 (23 teachers and 35 students). Some teachers from schools who were not from the case studies were not included in the research. Seventy-two participants participated in the quantitative phase of the phase and twenty-two in the second phase (see App. 3 Table Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5 for more detailed representation of the sample). The Head of Cyprus Educational Mission accepted the invitation to participate in this research and completed a special consent form in order to accept to disclose her position.

From the quantitative sampling, a smaller purposive, representative sample was selected, based on the specific purposes and requirements of the research (Suri, 2011). The purposive sample, included key informants for the second phase of the research, who were selected based on demographic, social, educational and professional information which was provided from the questionnaires' data analysis, to obtain information from a range of participants. The number of teachers and students selected for the interview was relatively smaller, since the purpose of qualitative research is not to generalize but to add meaning and depth to the data provided from the quantitative phase of the research and explore additional areas of the research. The students who participated in the research were aged 13 years old and above, for practical and ethical reasons.

Based on data presented in the Cyprus Ministry of Education Annual Report of 2015 (MOEC, 2015), the number of permanent teachers employed in Greek supplementary schools abroad during the school year 2014-2015 (the year the research was conducted) was 28 and 126 part-time teachers. The total number of students attending Greek supplementary schools abroad during the same school year was 5400 (MOEC, 2015). The number of teachers and students participating in this research was satisfactory, taking into

consideration that teachers and students from four schools in the UK participated in this research and the students had to be of a specific age.

### **3. The Quantitative phase of the research**

The quantitative phase of the research was conducted using questionnaires as the method of inquiry. Questionnaires are “... a self-report data collection instrument that each research participant fills out as part of a research study” (Johnson and Christensen, 2008, p.170). The self-completion questionnaire is a suitable method for collecting factual, statistical data (Gillham, 2005), such as demographic data of the population studied and participants’ attitudes regarding specific issues studied (Johnson and Christensen, 2008).

#### **3.1. Rate of responses**

The questionnaire was distributed to approximately 50 teachers from seven schools and 50 students from the four case study schools. All students’ questionnaires were completed in the school year 2014-2015 and teachers’ questionnaires during the school years 2014-2015 and 2015-2016. I received 37 questionnaires back from teachers and 43 student questionnaires. However, since the research involved four Greek supplementary schools, only the questionnaires regarding these schools were finally included in the research. More particularly, from the teachers’ questionnaires, twenty-five teachers’ questionnaires from the case study schools were included and used for the analysis of the data (see App. 3, Table 2).

Thirty four students’ questionnaires were included in the research, while three students completed an open questionnaire. I have also sent questionnaires to former teachers of Greek supplementary schools and former students from Greek School B, from which I received four teacher questionnaires and seven questionnaires from former students. From these only the students’

questionnaires were included in the research, as most of the teachers were not teaching in the case study schools. From the students who completed the questionnaire, seven were former students, while twenty seven were current students of Greek schools, including five adult students from Greek school A (see App. 3, Table 3).

Some of the students' questionnaires and consent forms were sent by post and others were self-administered. Those who were self-administered were those of Greek Schools A and B. This proved to be easier and more quick process of receiving questionnaires and consent forms back in contrast to the other schools which were sent by post.

The rate of responses collected was very satisfactory, considering the fact that the study was focused on a certain number of schools, that the number of students' and teachers' population is not large compared with other supplementary schools (for example Chinese) and that the study was focused on collecting responses from students above 13 years old. For example, Chao-Jung's (2006) research involved administering questionnaires to teachers and students in 95 Chinese supplementary schools and received a total of 63 questionnaires from 52 schools. As was also discussed before, the intention of case studies is not to generalise the results to a wider population, but focus on the population existing in the schools studied.

Most of the teachers answered the questionnaires online and some were self-administered. To avoid low-response rates in teachers' questionnaires, I have sent several follow-up e-mails reminding the participants to complete and the questionnaires back (Bryman, 2004). This resulted in receiving an adequate number of teachers' questionnaires back, as most the teachers in each school have completed the questionnaire.

### **3.2. Questionnaire design**

The design of the questionnaires was a long process that involved taking into consideration various parameters, based on the characteristics of the participants and the information that needed to be retrieved in this stage of the research. Five different questionnaires were designed based on the type of participants (see Appendix 2 for the questionnaires). Questionnaires specifically for current students and teachers, adult students, and former teachers and students in Greek supplementary schools were designed. The design of these questionnaires involved amending questions and answers to suit the characteristics of each type of participant and adjust the language of the questionnaires accordingly.

Participants were informed about the aims and the purpose of the research in the first page of the questionnaire. Clear instructions were also provided to avoid any misunderstandings, incomplete, incorrect answers in the questionnaires (Bryman, 2004). The questionnaire included multiple-choice questions and the Likert scale rating (Cohen et al, 2011). Multiple choice questions were used to receive basic information on history and heritage pedagogy, for example the content of history and heritage teaching, as well as the activities and resources used during teaching. Some answers had to be completed by the participants themselves. This involved answers regarding students' and teachers' background information and school attendance. The option 'other' was added in multiple choice questions, to exhaust all possible participants' answers to the question. At the end of the questionnaire, participants had the ability to complete any additional comments on the questions or the research itself. This proved to be useful as it provided clarifying information, as well as valuable information from participants who were not interviewed.

Teachers were asked to rate their attitudes using the scale 1 as strongly disagree to 5 as strongly agree (Croasmum and Ostrom, 2011, p. 2). Likert scale rating was used to rate the difficulties and problems both the teachers and

students face in history and tradition teaching and to rate students' motivation and enthusiasm in certain history and heritage elements, activities and resources of history teaching and extra-curricular activities. This has enabled the comparison of students and teachers' data.

Similar to the Likert scale indicators, images were used as descriptors for answers to a particular question for students' questionnaires. The aim and intention of using images instead of words in the questionnaire was to make the questionnaire more attractive and increase the response rate, as well as to anticipate possible linguistic and comprehension difficulties in some of the young children. Research suggested that questionnaires with visual images in the place of text can contribute in increasing the response rate particularly in young children and addressing any issues with students with reading difficulties (Zhang et al, 2002; Reynolds-Keefer and Johnson, 2011). The part of the questionnaire in which pictures were used concerned students' motivation in history and tradition teaching, the resources used, their tasks and the days/hours of schools' operation. The pictures which were used were 'smiley faces', showing different emotions, starting from feeling excited to feeling unhappy or not sure. An explanation was provided for the meaning of each image in the instructions (see App. 2 for Students' Questionnaire).

Anticipating language issues was an issue to be dealt with in the questionnaires. The language used in the questionnaires had to be clear and unambiguous (Bryman, 2004). Since most the respondents did not have the opportunity to ask for clarifications on the questions during the completion of the questionnaire, I had to ensure that all respondents were able to understand the questions. The language used in students' questionnaires was more simplified and difficult words were substituted with more simple and understandable ones.

Some issues which appeared in the questionnaire were personal and sensitive and so the use of appropriate language and wording was also essential. For example, students in the questionnaires were only asked about how they



consider their nationality and the issue of students' identities was further elaborated in the interviews, to examine the reasons for the students' responses. This is because the issue of students' identity is a sensitive and complicated issue and it so it was not considered as appropriate to be quantified.

Some themes and questions in the questionnaires were adopted and were similar to questionnaires of other research conducted in Greek supplementary schools in the UK (e.g. Prokopiou (2007) and Deligianni and Louka (2004)). More particularly, similar questions regarding extra-curricular activities, the content of the lesson regarding the Greek migration in diaspora and the resources used were used in this research to those of Deligianni and Louka (2004). Also the explanation regarding the type of generations was adopted from Prokopiou (2007) thesis.

### **3.3. Information retrieved from questionnaires**

The questionnaires proved a useful tool for receiving key background information of the participants. This demographic and background information of the participants was placed at the beginning of the questionnaire, as these questions were more straightforward and easy to be answered. This contextual information contributed in developing a framework of the participants' historical conditioning and social stratification (Tymms, 2012). This led to valuable conclusive remarks during the analysis and interpretation stage, on how participants' background, affects their views, perceptions, behaviour and practices. Both teachers and students were asked to provide some information regarding their Greek supplementary school to set up the background of the case study schools.

Students' background information was supplemented with basic information and attitudes regarding teaching and learning experiences at the Greek supplementary school and Greek community. Students for example, were

asked how they value their Greek school and the reasons for attending Greek supplementary school. This information was used to examine how students' perceptions and practices of history and heritage pedagogy are influenced by this contextual information.

Apart from basic, demographic information about the students and the teachers, both groups of participants were asked some basic information on pedagogy of history and heritage. Students' questionnaire data were used to examine the extent to which they value teaching of cultural elements. Teachers' and students' questions on the pedagogy of history and tradition teaching basically concerned students' motivation and enthusiasm on subjects, resources, tasks and extra-curriculum activities. They also involved rating their satisfaction on the resources used, their tasks, students' enthusiasm on various extra-curricular activities and the problems they encounter during teaching and learning.

The contextual background information, as well as participants' attitudes on history and heritage pedagogy provided from the questionnaires, contributed in developing tools to implement the second phase of the research, which is discussed below.

#### **4. The qualitative phase of the research**

The section below examines and discusses the second, qualitative phase of the research. In his research in a business setting, Bak (2011) assesses and explains the benefits of qualitative research in a mixed-methods research. These include allowing the questions to be answered and verified through various and diverse viewpoints, leading to a more in-depth understanding and stronger inferences. This section examines how interviews and ethnographic observation were used in this part of the research and discusses their role and applicability in this mixed-methods research.

#### **4.1. Interviews**

Interviews are a qualitative data-collection method in which the interviewer interacts with the interviewees to uncover their perspectives and perceptions based on their knowledge, experiences and personal understandings (May, 2001; Johnson and Christensen, 2008). The interviewer attempts to reflect and understand the meaning and the significance of the respondents' rich and detailed answers, provided by the interview data, by 'digging deeply' into their internal world (Bryman, 2004). Deppermann (2013) considers interviews as a social process, during which there is a continuous interaction between the interviewer and interviewee. The fact that I personally knew some of the teachers, broke the boundaries between me, as a researcher, and them as participants, and participants had the opportunity to communicate their ideas more openly.

Both teachers and students were interviewed, which enabled the comparison of participants' views and practices. The total number of interviews which were conducted was fourteen (eight interviews with teachers and six interviews with students). Six students were interviewed (including 3 former students) and eight teachers. Seven interviews were face-to-face interviews. With this type of interview, a rapport was built between me and the interviewees, which allowed the participants to express their perceptions more freely (Johnson and Christensen, 2008). Seven interviews were conducted on skype for pragmatic reasons, the most prominent were the distance and the work obligations of the participants. Interviewing with skype facilitated the arrangement of the interviews in convenient times for the participants. Based on the experiences of two PhD researchers who used skype to interview participants, it was revealed that technology progression – and particularly online interviewing- facilitates access to research participants who are geographically dispersed (Deakin and Wakefield, 2014). Interviewing with skype did not restrict personal contact as the interviews conducted on skype provided rich and detailed data and were long in duration.

Most interviews lasted from 45 minutes to 1 hour and 20 minutes (the longest interview). Teachers' interviews were conducted in the Greek language and most students' interviews in English. This facilitated the participants to express themselves more openly, as they could communicate in their language. Five out of six students interviewed were from Greek School B. Nevertheless, only one student accepted to be interviewed from the other schools, while three students preferred to complete an open-ended questionnaire (see App. 2 for the open questionnaires). Open questionnaires are a form of a structured interview. These included some fixed questions regarding personal information and more open-ended questions which were similar to the interview questions (Robson, 2002, p. 251).

#### **4.2. Designing the interview schedule**

The format of the semi-structured interview was selected for conducting the interviews since there was a clear focus in the research and the specific issues which had to be investigated were known in advance (Bryman, 2004). It was also selected since the emphasis in this phase of the research was on the interviewees' perceptions and their own understanding and evaluation of issues, facts and behaviours. The interview questions were based on the research questions, the literature around identity and pedagogy, data received from the questionnaires, but also based on my own experience as a teacher in these schools (see Appendix 2 for Interview Schedules).

Almost all participants who were interviewed, have already participated in the quantitative phase of the research by completing a questionnaire. This contributed in receiving background information for the teachers and explain their interview responses. The interview questions were adjusted to expand and elaborate on the responses of each participant in the questionnaire, especially if these are important to explain pedagogic practices and choices. More particularly, it was examined how external factors, for example students' generation and family environment, influence students' motivation. All these

were explored, to reveal and examine how pedagogic practices, norms and external factors contribute in developing students' identities.

Teachers' and students' interview schedule was divided in three parts, starting from the most personal questions, elaborating on the background information data received from the questionnaires. The second and third part of the interview schedule was devoted on extracting teachers' and students' perspectives regarding the pedagogy of Greek culture teaching and the development of students' identities. The issue of identity was included in the interviews as it is a sensitive matter. Kerstetter (2012) explains the difficulty for community-based researchers to distance themselves and their personal experiences when interviewing community members about sensitive issues, such as identity. This also raises issues of confidentiality between the interviewer and the participants. On the contrary, outsider researchers are claimed to be more emotionally distanced and more objective in regards to these issues.

However, interviewing is itself a social process, during which people interact with others to generate understanding and meaning (Roulston, 2015). During this process, I have undergone myself a process of reflection and have become a reflective and reflexive researcher, and thought about my position as an insider researcher in relation to the community and the social context. Participants also can themselves undergo a process of reflection when discussing about sensitive issues, such as identity, and reflect on their own positionality. This process is consistent with the theoretical framework of the research and particularly Archer's theory of reflexivity and its relation with identity construction. Archer (2013) explains that reflexivity is a mental exercise conducted often by people who reconsider themselves in relation to their social context.

After completing the interview process, all interviews were fully transcribed and translated into English. The interview data transcription was proved to be an intensive and time-consuming process. This can be considered one of the drawbacks of interviewing (Denscombe, 2007; May 2001). Due to the richness

of the interview data, the transcription and translation of each interview lasted from 10-15 hours. Roth (2013) supports that the meaning of the translated text may be modified during the process, but a new meaning is also attributed to the original text which is re-read throughout the translation process. During the translation of the interviews in English it was difficult to capture the exact meaning of some words and phrases. This was particularly the case for Greek idioms and idiomatic expressions, which are difficult to find the exact translation in English.

## **5. Ethnographic observation**

### **5.1. Observing history and heritage lessons**

This study employs ethnographic observation methods. Ethnographic observation encompasses characteristics of ethnography. Ethnography, is a suitable approach to study people and scenes, as carriers of culture (Johnson and Christensen, 2008). It requires a direct contact with the objects and the setting of study, but it also pays particular attention to the study of context (Mitchell, 2007). This study provides an examination of a specific cultural space, the Greek supplementary schools, based on the context in which these are developed. Through the ethnographic observations, it was observed how cultural values, norms and generally the contextual background information of the schools and participants, affect pedagogic practices. It was possible to understand how pedagogic practices were developed in this cultural space, by connecting and interpreting them based on this ethnic framework.

The characteristics of a typical ethnography involve participant observation and taking extensive field notes. Participant observation includes immersing in the world of the participants while they behave and act in their own context and environment. As Robson (2002) maintains, qualitative observation can provide records of participants' real actions, which can oppose their views or perceptions. However, it is argued that observations can be affected by the

presence of the researchers in the setting and the researcher's bias (Kawulich, 2005). In this doctoral study, these effects were minimised by holding an unobtrusive stance throughout the observations and being objective in regards to the interpretation and analysis of participants' actions.

Ethnographic observation was conducted by taking extensive field notes of what is occurred in the setting studied and recording comments that will be valuable in interpreting participants' social behaviour (Jonson and Christensen, 2008). This resulted in understanding the subjective meaning of students' negotiation of their ethnic identities. Since this study aimed in examining the pedagogy of the Greek community schools, this was achieved by investigating the symbolic meaning of teachers' and students' distinctive social acts and behaviour and how these are associated with the teaching of elements of culture.

Research in various educational settings and spaces has revealed that the purpose of ethnographic observation is to implicitly understand that to witness or examine significant pedagogic issues, there is a need to observe how these are experienced (Antón 1996; McKenchnie, 2000). In this doctoral study, the field notes from the ethnographic observation were used to complement or even oppose the participants' attitudes and perspectives, and to uncover information that the participants might have not revealed in the questionnaires and interviews. Ethnographic observation was also employed to examine how teachers' and students' social background, which was obtained from the quantitative phase of the research, can influence the way they act within the classroom environment.

Observing teachers and students in their classroom environment, can allow for their behaviour and social acts to be studied, including which of their actions are repetitive or infrequent (Le Compte et al, 1993). For example, by observing teachers' behaviour it was recorded how they are positioned towards students, for example by their tone of voice or gestures and how students react in this. It was also observed what kind of norms and values are adopted or

imposed in the classroom environment and the nature of interaction and communication between teacher and students.

Since another aim of the research was to investigate students' motivation and engagement, this was achieved by observing when students were more actively engaged and motivated during the learning process and how teachers achieve this. This was achieved by observing their practices, teaching methods, activities and routines that took place. Information was also gained regarding the resources that are used for teaching and the nature of these resources. More significantly though, it was observed how the problems around these resources, and generally the difficulties which teachers face as developed in these spaces, affect their pedagogic practices. Therefore, with the study of all these factors which influence the process of teaching and learning, valuable conclusions were extracted regarding the operation and practices of Greek community schools, their meaning to the teaching of Greek culture and the development of students' identities.

Twelve lesson observations of various levels/years were conducted which lasted from half an hour to two hours (see App. 5 for observation summaries). Apart from that, the ethnographic observations included informal conversations with the head teachers and teachers of the school and a tour around the schools. These helped me develop and expand on the contextual information for each case study school.

The ethnographic observations were conducted in two academic years, in May and June 2015 and October – November of the same year. This was due to some pragmatic difficulties. The fact that I was working on Saturdays, when most of the case study schools were operating, restricted my ability to conduct additional observations during a requested period of time. Also, the delay in receiving all the questionnaires back, delayed the process of designing the tools of conducting the interviews and the observations and consequently, conducting the qualitative part of the research. Apart from that, May and June was a period when most of higher levels (from GCSE level up to GCE A



level), were revising for the exams, and so they did not have time to do a proper history or tradition lesson. This was a reason for not conducting many lesson observations in higher level students. As will also be discussed, the majority of history and heritage lessons take place when a commemoration or celebration is approaching. This rendered it difficult to arrange observations for history and tradition lessons. The majority of the lesson observations were conducted in October, since the commemoration for the 28<sup>th</sup> of October, 1940 (Greece involvement in Second World War) was approaching (App. 5, Obs. Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9). All these were contributing factors which did not allow me to observe all the teachers based on the level of their students at the time they were interviewed and completed the questionnaire. This would have allowed to proceed with a comparison of the observations data with the questionnaire and interview data for all teachers.

## **5.2. The design of the observation schedule**

At first, an observation schedule with a quantitative format was designed (see app. 2 for observation schedule 1), based on the themes to be explored in the research and my reading on observations (particularly Le Compte et al, 1993). After it was piloted it was not proved as effective, as it was quite long and requested many quantitative information which could not capture the meaning of the teaching practices. Thus, a more open observation guide was designed, based on the categories and themes developed after the data analysis (see App. 2 for the observation schedule 2). A more open observation record was also used by Simon (2013) in her ethnographic case studies in supplementary schools.

The observation schedule for this research, included some quantitative information, for example the date and time of the lesson, the level, age and number of the students in the classroom. It also involved providing information about the characteristics of the teacher and the students (for example students' ethnicity, generation). The ethnographic observation involved

providing information about the location of the lesson, students' work on display and the resources used. Data also included details about the subject taught at the time of the observation and the aims of the lesson. For the rest of the lesson I was taking field notes regarding activities taking place, dialogues between teacher-students, students' responses and signs of students' motivation or demotivation.

The observations were not voice-recorded, but field notes were taken instead for ethical reasons. General comments of students' answers and students' behaviour were discussed in the findings, so that individual students will not be identified. The field notes taken for each observation were immediately transcribed after each observation, as these would be more recent in memory (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2010, p. 175-176). These were transcribed to achieve a more presentable form of the observation data. Observation data were analysed based on the contextual information provided in the questionnaires and were illuminated with the information provided from the interviews.

## **6. Piloting the study**

Piloting a study helps in preventing some of the possible problems that may arise in a study (Robson, 2002). Both the questionnaire, interview and observation schedule were piloted.

Through this process, the questionnaire was piloted to examine whether the questions were clear, unambiguous, easy to be answered or if it included leading questions. The format of the questionnaire was also piloted, regarding the layout, appearance, the order of the questions, the scale used, the length and the categories of the answers. Finally, it was tested whether a question should be omitted or added and whether all themes were covered (Cohen et al, 2011). One example of how a question in the questionnaire has been amended after piloting it based on comments received by a teacher is the question: "How much time do you spend in teaching history?" In that question,

the phrase 'in each lesson' was added at the end, so that the question can become more specific.

The interview schedule was piloted to change the wording, the formatting, the order and focus of the questions, as well as to omit or replace a question. The interview questions were tried out, so that prompts and probes could be formed (Gillham, 2005). As was also explained in section 5.2, after piloting the first observation schedule, this was re-designed to become more open, simple and practical.

## **7. Data analysis**

The questionnaires' analysis was conducted using the SPSS software. The data were collated and were prepared and tabulated for analysis. The questionnaires were numbered and codes were assigned for the dependent and the independent variables. A different data-sheet was used for each type of participants (for example a different data sheet for former students and a different data sheet for current students), to facilitate the analysis of the data.

Software was not used for the analysis of the interviews due to the small number of interviews conducted. During the interviews transcription, the data of each of the participants were placed under general thematic units based on the research questions and the literature review. The observations transcription involved transcribing and decoding the field notes which were taken during the ethnographic observation.

The qualitative data analysis involved the processes of coding, adding memos and developing suggestions (Punch, 2006). More particularly, it involved reading the data several times in order to become familiarized with them and reduce them based on the research questions (Clarke, 2012).

The data were prepared for analysis, by organizing them in a way that allowed me to add memos and codes next to them (Denscombe, 2007). Coding is the

fundamental process of qualitative data analysis and can be performed throughout the process of the analysis. It involves a process of naming or adding labels next to the data in order to give meaning to the data and helps in identifying themes (Punch, 2006). Codes were placed next to the data, which were continually altered and improved throughout the process of data analysis (Denscombe, 2007). During the process of coding, memos were added as well. Placing memos next to the data, is a process of adding comments or thoughts regarding the data, in order to identify patterns, relationships or issues from the data which are similar or to identify differences between them (Robson, 2002).

The data from each of the three methods were gathered, to triangulate, expand and elaborate on the themes under investigation. The same codes were used for data of similar categories. The data were then placed into categories by identifying relations between the data and the categories. The themes developed from the data were divided into broad categories and sub-categories (Ezzy, 2002). The last stage of data analysis involved extracting general conclusions, based on the identification of common or different patterns in the data. 'Key concepts' were also identified which were essential in drawing conclusions for the analysis and for comparing these conclusions with different views and theories (Denscombe, 2007).

Cohen et al (2007), suggests five ways of organizing and presenting data, by groups, individuals, issues, research questions and instrument. The presentation and analysis of the data was performed thematically. This aimed at revealing the contradictions depending on the background of the schools and discussing the reasons that the schools, despite their similarities, are engaged in different pedagogic practices.

Petschler (2012) explained the difficulties and the challenges raised in analysing and presenting data due to his role as an insider researcher. This raised the dilemma of either being subjective because of her dual role or accurate and objective. The researcher managed to deal with this challenge

by contextualising the data and presenting the difficulties of conducting research with ethnographic elements in a school environment. Similarly, despite the dilemmas and challenges raised of presenting the data and being an insider researcher, Kerstetter (2012, p. 103-104) supports that communicating findings in community-based research can assist in assessing the needs of the community, strengthening the participants' voices and plan the relevant interventions. This research aims to explore the problematic issues of history and heritage pedagogy in order to reconsider history and heritage educational policies and practices to reflect the current changing context.

### **Summary:**

This chapter provided a rationale for the selection of a case study design and mixed-methods methodology for this research. It also examined the theoretical underpinning of the research, the theory of critical realism, and its consistency with case-study design and mixed-methods methodology. The design and methodology employed in this research allowed the examination of structural and agential elements, a micro and a macro examination of the research questions. Their interconnection with critical realism facilitated the exploration of the relation between social change, pedagogy and its influence on students' identity construction.

The data from all the three phases, were analysed and used in a complementary manner to present and discuss the findings of the research, which begins from the next chapter.

## **Chapter 4**

### **The historical development of the Greek communities and Greek supplementary schools in England**

The previous chapters have set out the theoretical and methodological framework for the study. This chapter now proceeds to the substantive study and a historical analysis of the development of Greek communities and their supplementary schools in Britain, from the 19<sup>th</sup> century until present. More specifically, this chapter employs documentary research methods to set out the long-term historical processes and events that explain the emergence of Greek communities in the UK and the formation of Greek schools. Although the chapter covers a period of more than a century, particular attention is given to the post-1945 period. This is because it was in this period that the origins of contemporary Greek supplementary schools can be found. Those origins, moreover, continue to condition contemporary policies, values, attitudes and pedagogical practices today. The chapter sets out the historical conditioning of the actors who are now responsible for the schools and appear in these institutions and the ways in which these institutions reflect particular configurations of class, gender and ethnicity.

The specific emphasis of this chapter will, where possible, focus on the history of Greek-Cypriot migration in the UK. There is a long history of Greek-Cypriot migration to the UK and its scale and significance in the post-war period, is indicated by the fact that by the end of 1980's the number of the whole Cypriot diaspora reached the half of the total population of Cyprus (Teerling and King, 2012, p. 24). In 2007, one estimate counted 120 distinct Greek communities in the UK and 95% of the populations attached to them were identified as Greek-Cypriots (Constantinou, 2007). The historical overview of this migration as a result of wider structural changes, and the examination of the background of this population, enables the understanding of certain norms and practices in Greek communities and supplementary schools.

The history of the Greek and Greek-Cypriot migration is explored through the examination of two periods of migration, from the 19<sup>th</sup> century to 1950s and from 1950s until today. The 19<sup>th</sup> century marked the development of the first well-established Greek community in the UK, as well as the establishment of the first Greek schools in the UK. The second half of the 1950s signifies the largest influx of Greek-Cypriot migrants in the UK and ends with another new significant migration wave of Greeks and Greek-Cypriots in the UK.

## **A. The migration of Greeks and Greek-Cypriots to the UK between 1880s-1950s**

### **1. Reasons for migration**

People migrate for a wide variety of reasons. Migration is sometimes forced, by population transfer or discriminatory treatment that diminishes the quality of life. Migration is more often voluntary and pursued by individuals and networks in search of economic prosperity. All migration decisions are, however, best explained in the context of general structural and social changes. These structural changes help to understand processes of migration and migrants' motivations for migration (Panayi, 2010, p. 147)

At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, fundamental political and social changes in Greek society stimulated significant migration to the UK. These changes included the Greek revolution in 1821, an ensuing eleven-year war of independence that brought an end to 400 years of Ottoman rule, as well as the foundation of the state of modern Greece in 1832. Yet, the foundation of the Greek state did not necessarily bring security or stability either to the boundaries of the Greek state or to the Greek citizens. Indeed, it was the instability of the Greek state after the Greek revolution that stimulated a major wave of migration to Britain (Catsiyannis, 1993, p. 27). Britain was an attractive destination because there were no border controls, a reputation for tolerance towards refugees and migrants and, more significantly, labour market

opportunities in the most advanced industrial nation in the world (Catsiyannis, 1993). By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, fully one sixth of the Greek population had migrated to other countries, a phenomenon only amplified by an economic crisis in Greece in 1893. Departing migrants were officially endorsed by the Greek state, who saw in their remittances a source of economic growth (Kasimis and Kassimi, 2004).

## **2. The civic and social life of Greeks in the UK in the 19<sup>th</sup> century**

Greek migrants had settled in the UK from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards (Catsiyannis, 1993, p. 19) but the establishment of the Greek community in London after the revolution marked an important turning point in the formulation of Greek identity. From around the 1830s onwards migrants were increasingly likely to identify themselves as a 'genos', a word that was gradually replaced by 'ethnos', 'a term that was and still is used in Greek in the sense of a nation' (Millas, 2008). Significantly, and as the historian Hercules Millas has argued, there is no other word for nation and the ethnic national distinction does not exist among Greeks in general (Millas, 2008, p. 492). As a result, the Greek community established in the aftermath of the revolution and the foundation of the modern Greek state, turned out to be one of the most important migrant communities in Europe (Catsiyannis, 1993, p. 27).

The Greek firms, which numbered twenty-one until 1840, were gathered around the area of Finsbury Circus in London (Catsiyannis, 1993, p. 52). After the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Greek community of London managed to enter the higher social class of England (Catsiyannis, 1993, p. 432). Upon their settlement in the UK, a part of Greek migrants has undergone a process of adaptation and assimilation to the English culture. After the 1870s, Greeks initiated efforts to prevent further assimilation and maintain the high standards of their social life (Catsiyannis, 1993, p. 385).



### **3. The establishment of the first Greek schools in the UK**

Part of the efforts and the wish of the Greek community to prevent further assimilation and maintain the ethnic identity of the Greek migrants was the establishment of Greek schools. Greek schools in England can be traced back ever since 1869 in Manchester. The Greek school in Manchester was founded and was operating by two teachers from Greece, who were settled in the U.K. to teach the Greek language and culture to students of Greek immigrants. However, the operation of the school did not last for long, as it was closed in 1877 due to the low attendance of students (Christodoulides, 1967). After the closure of the Greek school, the Greek Orthodox Church in Manchester took the initiative to teach the Greek language and culture (Pillas, 1992).

Although documentary evidence is scarce, the establishment of the first Greek schools in the UK in the 19<sup>th</sup> century has witnessed a systematic programme of language instruction, often in connection with theological instruction (Catsiyannis, 1993). This is an indicator of the close relation of religion, and particularly the Greek Orthodox Church, with the construction of ethnic identity, which was more prominent during the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Millas, 2008, p. 493, 494). This relation reproduces acts of imagination of elements of ethnic identities, and the religion acts as the basis of the alleged continuity of the Greek nation from ancient times through Byzantium until the modern time (Zambeta, 2000, p. 148).

The Greek nationhood in the nineteenth century was articulated as the antithesis to the Turkish nationhood, the 'Ottoman Turk', who was negatively characterised as 'barbaric' and 'uncivilised' (Millas, 2008, p. 494). This explains the urgent need of the Greek community for the protection of their ethnic identities and the strengthening of their identities in opposition to the 'other'. It also reveals the fragility of the sense of Greekness and the influence of primordial notions of ethnicity in the construction of the identities of the Greek community.

The deep connection of Greek ethnicity with religion was exemplified by the organising and undertaking Greek language and religion teaching (Taylor, 1988, p. 80). Indeed, the development of Greek supplementary schools in the twentieth century constitutes the main social welfare activity of the Greek Orthodox Church (Panayi, 2010, p. 156-157; Taylor, 1988, p. 27). This helps to explain the fact that the majority of the Greek supplementary schools are built next to Greek Orthodox churches (Panayi, 2010, p. 156). It was in these spaces that social networks were established, migrants interacted and the Greek Orthodox Church helped to construct a sense of Greek ethnic identity. Such spaces were particularly significant for Greek-Cypriot women in Evergeti's (2006) research.

The establishment of Greek schools because of fears of assimilation continued in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Greek College was established in London in 1870, due to the concern of the members of the Greek community about a '*gradual de-hellenisation of the children*' (Catsiyannis, 1993, p. 452). Students attended a range of lessons such as Greek, English, French, Latin, philosophy, religion and dancing. The number of students attending these schools during the years of its operation, never reached more than 30 students, a number which was gradually reducing. As Catsiyannis (1993, p. 463) presumes, this was probably due to the preference of the parents to send their children to well-known English schools, rather than Greek schools. This can also be related to the high social status of the Greek community of that period. The drop in the number of the students, led to an economic decline of the schools, and the school closed down in 1884. For forty years, there was no official education for the children of the Greek immigrants, which was considered as a threat to students' ethnic identity (Catsiyannis, 1993, p. 463). After 1922, the priests of the Greek church of Saint Sophia in London organised Greek lessons in the premises of the church, as was also the case with the Greek school in Manchester (Catsiyannis, 1993). In the meantime, a small wave of Greek-Cypriot migrants settled in the U.K. at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## **B. The Cypriot migration in the 20<sup>th</sup> century**

### **1. Reasons for migration**

The beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was marked by the migration of a different population to the UK, that of Greek-Cypriots. Cyprus was under Ottoman rule between 1571 to 1878. Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and specifically in 1878, Cyprus was placed under British administration and in 1914 it was formally annexed by Britain. Cyprus was under the colonial rule of Britain from 1878 until 1960, when it became independent (Taylor, 1988, p. 1-2). This is significant for developing an understanding of Greek-Cypriot migrants' feelings and position within the British society during their settlement in the UK.

Population growth combined with difficult economic circumstances in the aftermath of the First World War caused an increase in the level of unemployment and a move of the population to towns and other countries (Panayi, 2010, p. 47). The search for stability in employment and better wages, was the main reason for the migration of Cypriots in 1930s-1940s (Oakley, 1970: 34; Pillas, 1992). The economic advantage of Britain in relation to other countries and the employment opportunities it offered, was a reason for Cypriots preference to migrate in the UK (Panayi, 2010, p. 47-49). The preference of Britain as a place of settlement can also be justified by Cypriots' right, as a British colony and member of the Commonwealth, of free movement within the British empire and the Commonwealth (Holmes, 1992). While at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century (1911) the number of Cypriots in UK was only 208, in 1931 this number increased to 1059 (Pillas, 1992, p. 25).

During the inter-war period, there was also a political and social unrest in Cyprus, which was under British rule. This political unrest was a result of the opposition of Cypriots to the British rule, which grew during the October events of 1931 (Oktovriana), an anti-colonial movement, demanding the union of Cyprus with Greece.

As a result of the wider structural changes of the period 1930-1940 in Cyprus, 1000 Cypriots were migrating to the UK each year during the late 1940s (Oakley, 1970, p. 34). By the end of 1940s, 8000 Greek-Cypriot migrants were settled and employed in the UK (Taylor, 1988). This is a considerable number of migrants, taking into consideration the fact that after 1937 the Cyprus Colonial Government set controls on the migration of Cypriots to Britain. The intention of this measure, as was so claimed, was to ensure that Cypriots will not endure difficult living conditions upon their settlement in the UK (Oakley, 1979). In fact, even though migrants were used as unskilled labour, restrictions were set to the movement of these citizens, because of the fear of causing tension within the British society (Holmes, 1992, p. 262). Cypriots, Maltese and New Zealand immigrants in the UK may be categorised as 'white', but they also carry with them the history of British colonisation which could act as a reason for differentiation from others (Kamenou, 2007). This is rather an indication of Cypriots' fragile position in the British society and explains their emotive and rational attraction towards certain notions of Greek identity.

The Cypriot migrants during the period 1930-1940 settled closer to Cypriots who supported their entry to the UK, possibly their relatives. This resulted in forming tighter communities (Pillas, 1992). Having a daily interaction with other Greek-Cypriots, can also be considered as a factor for forming and maintaining strong ethnic identities (Constantinides, 1977).

In summary, there were three legacies of Greek migration to Britain in the period before 1950. Firstly, the deep connection between notions of Greek ethnicity and the Greek orthodox church. Secondly, this connection helps to explain the significance of the church in the organisation and administration of supplementary schooling and the physical location of these schools. Thirdly, the colonial history of Cyprus may not be well known, but it is crucial for understanding the historical presence of Greek-Cypriots in the UK but also, perhaps, the uncertain place of migrants from the colonies in British society, as

a result of them being used as labour on the one hand and of the migration restrictions on the other.

## **2. The Greek-Cypriot migration in the UK from 1950 until present**

The largest influx of Greek-Cypriots in the U.K. occurred during the post-war period and particularly from 1951 to 1971 (Panayi, 2011, p. 301). After the end of second World War, western European countries recruited migrants from New Commonwealth countries to solve labour shortages (Holmes, 1992, p. 262). Britain recruited migrants largely from its colonies, and from the newly declared Irish Republic, all of whom could legally enter these countries without major difficulty (Lucassen et al, 2006). Cyprus was part of the British Commonwealth and their right of entry to Britain was confirmed in the 1948 British Nationality Act. Greek-Cypriot migration was a form of economic migration, which was common to the migration from other areas of the British Empire and from Ireland (Pillas, 1992, p. 28).

Greek-Cypriots in the post-war period migrated not only due to their position as part of the Commonwealth countries, but also due to structural changes in Cyprus during this period. Cyprus based its economy on agriculture until 1960. However, climate and ecological conditions in the island and non-technological advancement, resulted in searching for other areas of employment (Anthias, 1992). Those who survived after the war had to migrate, especially young people from rural areas of Cyprus, due to the unemployment and poverty which existed during this period in rural areas in Cyprus (Rousou, 2003; Meyer and Vasiliou, 1962; Teerling and Kind, 2012). The social changes during the period of Cypriot independence, with the main one being the urbanisation of the island, led to the inability of the labour market to absorb young people searching for employment (Oakley, 1968).

The migration of Greek-Cypriots in the UK in the post-war period also needs to be considered as part of its historical relation with the UK. After 'an anti-colonial

struggle' between 1955-1959 (EOKA struggle), when a part of Greek-Cypriots demanded a union with Greece (enosis), Cyprus became independent in 1960 (Trimikliniotis and Demetriou, 2012, p. 277). These socio-political changes in Cyprus, led to an increase in the migration of Greek-Cypriots in the UK. After the post-war period and particularly in 1951, 10343 Cypriots were settled in Britain. Especially after 1954, the number of Cypriot migrants each year was increasing, reaching to 3800 per year (Bertrand, 2004). Between 1950s to 1960s, approximately 70000 Cypriot migrants migrated to UK, 80% of them being Greek-Cypriots (Panayi, 2011). During 1960-1961, the period after Cyprus independence, the number of Cypriots who migrated to UK reached the 25000, the highest level of Cypriot migration in UK (Pillas, 1992).

The struggles of the island for decolonisation on the one hand and migrating to the UK on the other hand with all the restrictions in their migration progress, placed Greek-Cypriot migrants in an ambiguous position regarding their status within the British society. These experiences, shaped their understanding of notions of ethnicity and intensified their feelings of nostalgia, their wish to return to their home country in the near future.

Not only historical and structural factors, but also the state influences the level of migration with the development and implementation of migration policies. Migration policies themselves are developed due to economic and political changes. Britain was implementing the 1948 British Nationality Act and its obligations towards commonwealth citizens who wished to migrate to Britain (Holmes, 1992, p. 263). The Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962 though, brought restrictions to the increase of the number of migrants in UK (Anthias, 1991). The Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962 and the reduction in employment opportunities in Britain, resulted in a drop of the number of migrants from Cyprus to UK (Pillas, 1992).

### **3. The Greek-Cypriot migration after 1974**

The second largest influx of Greek-Cypriots in U.K. took place in 1974, after the occupation of the northern part of Cyprus by Turkey. Approximately 10000 Cypriots from the north part of the island migrated to the UK, where there was an already established community (Panayi, 2010, p. 301). This was part of a population transfer, in which Greek-Cypriot refugees from the north part of Cyprus, moved to the south and the Turkish-Cypriots living in the south Cyprus moved towards the north (Manz and Panayi, 2012, p. 129).

Cypriots migrated to the UK as they realised that there was no prospect for a solution to the Cypriot problem soon and this restrained them from returning to their home country in the near future (Pillas, 1992). According to evidence from the Select Committee on Cyprus (1975, p. 39), approximately 40000 Cypriots migrated to UK from January 1973 to July 1975. More particularly, 10000-12000 refugees flew to UK, from whom only 2000-3000 remained in the UK as visitors and British passport holders (Taylor, 1988, p. 4). During the same period, 10000 Cypriot migrants have migrated to Britain as 'unofficial refugees' (Swann Report, 1985, p. 671). Based on the Select Committee on Cyprus (1975, p. 36), none of these migrants was formally accepted or designated, as refugees. Contemporary accounts of these events tend to see successive Conservative and Labour administrations applying immigration rules flexibly and sympathetically to Cypriots because of the strained political situation and because of the presence of established Greek-Cypriot communities in Britain. The UK Government supported Greek-Cypriot migrants who were not able to find accommodation, by providing them temporary accommodation and financial assistance (House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1975; House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1978: 2).

The period from 1950s until 1974 in Cyprus was a period of significant historical, socio-political and economic changes, which influenced the volume of Greek-Cypriot migration in the UK, as well as to other countries, for example North America, Australia and South Africa (Teerling, 2011). More particularly,

the political and social unrest in Cyprus following the anti-colonial struggle and Cyprus independence in the 1950-1960s, as well as the historical facts until the 1974 and the restrictions embedded in the migration process, had a direct impact on migrants' status and positionality in the host country.

After 1974 and the second largest migration wave, the secondary sources on the Greek migration, settlement and education of the migrants are limited. This can be possibly explained by the stability of the situation in the life of the migrants and the establishment of a growing number of Greek schools who continued to serve their purpose, both for the members of the Greek community and the multicultural context in which they were placed. Apart from this, there was a change in the migration process of Greeks and Greek-Cypriots. After 1974, the migration of Greek-Cypriots to the UK was limited. The migration was based on those who obtained permission to stay in UK through marriage with a British citizen (Pillas, 1992). In fact, after 1974 a voluntary repatriation of Greek-Cypriots began, following the economic advancement in Cyprus during the late 1970s and 1980s (Bertrand, 2004). Teerling and King (2012, p. 26) point out the problematic gap in the history of migration, and specifically that there are no studies on the return of the migrants. As they presume, the factors which may have led Cypriot migrants to repatriate could vary from feelings of nostalgia for their home country and their wish to retire, to family issues and economic opportunities, following the economic 'boom' in Cyprus in 1980s (Teerling and King, 2012, p. 27).

By 1991, there were 77486 Cypriots born in UK, from whom 50684 lived in Greater London, and more particularly 11339 in Enfield and 7798 in Haringey. According to the 2001 UK census, 77673 Cypriots were born in UK, out of whom 45887 were living in London (Panayi, 2011).

The Cypriot migration can be considered significant in relation to the migration of other countries to the UK. For example, the number of Africans and South Asians migrants in the UK since 1945 reached the 1000 000 each (Panayi, 2011, p. 44). These are two populations with a long history of migration in the UK. The



numbers of these migrants may be considered as larger than the Cypriot migration which reached the 800000 after 1945. However, taking into consideration that the population of Cyprus in 1960s, a period with the larger number of Cypriots in the UK, was around 573000 (Solsten, 1991), the migration of 25000 Cypriots during that period, is not insignificant.

#### **4. A new era in the Greek and Greek-Cypriot migration**

The context around the migration progress continued changing significantly after the 2000s. In 2004 there were 170000 – 200000 Greek-Cypriots and Britain citizens of Greek-Cypriot origin living in Britain (Bertrand, 2004). Around 2008 and onwards, both Greece and Cyprus underwent deep social and structural changes, resulting in new waves of migration. In contrast to the period 1960-1970s, when there was a lot of documentation on the migration of Greek-Cypriots in the UK, there is very little substantive evidence for the migration from 1974 onwards. This may be explained because there were no significant changes which could initiate migration movements to the UK and the continuation of the role of the Greek supplementation education in preserving ethnic identities.

The economic crisis in Greece of 2008 and onwards, resulted in strict austerity measures, high unemployment rate and significant social and political changes. All these, led to a new migration wave, which included a high number of young skilled and highly educated Greeks. Based on Eurostat (2016), between 2010-2013, 1 208 864 Greeks have migrated to other countries. More than half of these migrated to Germany and UK, and more particularly to London, which continues to be the most preferable destination of Greek professionals (Fotiadou, 2017, p. 3).

In the same period, Cyprus has also experienced an economic crisis, which started in 2011 (Zenios, 2013). This has also led to a considerable number of Cypriots migrating to other countries. In fact, based on Eurostat (2017), Cyprus

had one of the highest rate of emigration in 2015, reaching to 20 migrants per 1000 people. According to the Demographic Report 2015 of Cyprus, the number of migrants leaving Cyprus has been substantially increased since 2010, a year when the first signs of the effect of economic crisis started to appear in Cyprus. From 2012 to 2015, approximately 20000-25000 people were emigrating from Cyprus to other countries each year. More particularly, in 2014, 7981 Cypriots migrated to EU countries and 19942 in Non-EU and in 2015, 3355 migrated to EU and 13726 to non-EU countries, with the number of female migrants to be comparatively larger than the male ones (Statistical Service, 2015, p. 133, 138). This is a considerable number of migrants compared to the whole population of the island. According to the last census in UK, the number of Cypriots living in UK is 270 000 (High Commission, 2017). This number includes Greek-Cypriots of four generations living in UK, the majority of whom have settled in England (Rousou, 2003).

Overall, it can be argued that the period after war of 1974 and onwards marked a new period of Cypriot migration. A part of Greek-Cypriots started emigrating to Cyprus and the others continued living in the UK forming Greek communities and supplementary schools. The period of late modernity and particularly after 2008, a period of significant socio-political and economic changes both in Greece and Cyprus, initiated a new migration wave, with people of different social backgrounds and expectations compared to the first and second-generation migrants of the period from 1950s onwards. These migrants were structured in different levels within the Greek community and British society, depending on their socio-economic background, the ideas, norms and values that carried with them and their wish to maintain their ethnic identities.

## **5. The civil and social life of the Greek-Cypriots in the UK from 1960s until today**

### **5.1. The social stratification of the Greek-Cypriot migrants in the UK**

After their arrival in the UK, most Greek-Cypriot migrants settled around Greater London. In 1966 the number of Cypriots in UK was 100000, with  $\frac{3}{4}$  of them living in London (Panayi, 2011). Initially, they settled in London boroughs, such as Camden Town (Panayi, 2011, p. 301). A large proportion of Cypriot migrants settled in North London, where there was an already established community, and particularly in the London Borough of Haringey (Swann Report, 1975, p.672). Greek-Cypriots after their initial stages of migration moved towards the middle-class suburb of Palmers Green (Panayi, 2011, p. 301), presumably because they were more economically independent. The majority of Greek-Cypriot migrants who settled outside London, settled in Birmingham, Leeds and Manchester (Swann Report, 1975, p.672). By 1971, some years before the second largest migration wave in the UK, 72665 Cypriots lived in UK (Panayi, 2011).

The settlement of the Greek-Cypriot migrants, especially first-generation migrants, in the UK, was not without problems. Information regarding the difficulties which Greek-Cypriot migrants faced during the settlement in the UK, was retrieved from oral historical information and personal accounts from the research of Economou and Halliday (1988) and Papathanasiou (1990). The difficulties which first generation migrants encountered ranged from difficulty in communication, to the inability of finding suitable employment resulting in working long hours and with hard-working conditions (Economou and Halliday, 1988; Papathanasiou, 1990). Greek-Cypriot migrants endured these difficulties with the prospect of making savings, either to develop their own business or to return to their home country and increase their social status (Anthias, 1991; Anthias, 1992). They also had to endure poor living situations, as they were not living in suitable accommodations. Part of them had to live with their relatives

to be able to cope with the living expenses (Economou and Halliday, 1988; Papathanasiou, 1990).

According to the personal accounts of the Greek-Cypriot migrants, they often had to cope with discrimination, social prejudice and exclusion, as well as assimilation forces (Economou and Halliday, 1988; Papathanasiou, 1990). Research has often interpreted all these difficulties that migrants have undergone, the unemployment, the feelings of anxiety, loneliness, social prejudice and nostalgia for their home country as having a negative impact on their mental and psychological health (Triseliotis, 1965). The findings of this research, were supported by another research by Papadopoulos (2000), which asserted that these feelings were factors which influenced the general health condition of first generation Greek migrants. Part of these claims and those of similar studies, tended to be in favour of primordial notions of ethnic identity and could provide empirical support for establishing communities and institutions to help migrants deal with these feelings. Indeed, as Triseliotis (1965) maintains, Greek-Cypriots tended to form communities and be close to other Greek-Cypriots to receive social and emotional support for the difficulties they encountered.

It could be inferred that, documents and research of the period 1960-1970 rely on a primordial notion of ethnicity and nation building. These documents were produced in a period when migrants and refugees were usually perceived as a problem to the host country which needed solution (Manz and Panayi, 2012, p.131). These ideas created a favourable climate to the normative transmission of ethnic identities, through the influence of primordial categories of identities. These notions of ethnicity do not agree with Archer's theory on identity development, which is a process of gradual reflection and personal choice within structures.

## **5.2. Divisions within the community**

Although the term 'Greek community' implies a kind of homogeneity, migration processes over the last 60 years, have, in fact, created a rather

heterogeneous group which, while sharing a place of origin, also have significant geographical, class and gender differences. In 1960s and early 1970s the Greek community comprised different level of classes and gender divisions. These can be considered as differentiating factors within the communities and can affect their experiences and expectations (The Parekh Report, 2000). Taking this into account, the idea of being Greek is dynamic. It can be negotiated in a different manner by each member of the community, depending on each member's experiences. These issues are significant for examining who are the people behind the establishment of the Greek supplementary schools.

Greek-Cypriots either migrated to UK as officials of the Cyprus High Commission, as academics and professionals and others to search for employment (Constantinides, 1977). In 1960s, there was an increase in the number of professionals with Higher Education qualifications, employed in high positions, such as in Cyprus High Commission. However, the number of these professionals was limited, as in 1971 the number of professionals was only 2,9% (Anthias, 1992).

However, the largest category of Greek-Cypriot migrants was those who migrated to search for employment. The majority of Greek-Cypriot migrants were from a working-class background or peasants coming from villages, such as Lympia, which is a village of Cyprus with a large number of emigrants to UK (Panayi, 2011; Anthias, 1992). They had limited formal education and low-level formal skills (Constantinides, 1977). Most men in Cyprus worked as craftsmen, labourers or in in-service trades, whether most women were not employed (Swann Report, 1985).

As the majority of Greek-Cypriots were unskilled or semi-skilled workers, their class distinction in the UK may not be so profound (Anthias, 1992). This was specifically the case in the initial stages of migration, whereas in later stages, the division of Greek-Cypriot migrants in regards to social class has become more apparent. Greek-Cypriot migrants were employed in jobs in which they

were able to use the skills they already used when working in Cyprus and did not acquire high-level skills (Anthias, 1992, p. 55). Based on the 1971 census, the male manual skilled Cypriot migrant workers constituted the 40,8% of male workers and the semi-skilled the 17,7% of male workers. The 22,6% of male workers were service workers and 12% worked in engineering and as allied workers. They worked in small companies, in shoe making, tailoring, dress-making and in restaurants or catering (Anthias, 1992, p. 55).

A part of Greek-Cypriot migrants also tended to work in Cypriot-owned business. These labour market possibilities conditioned by ethnic networks was claimed to be an attempt to preserve the Greek traditional values (Oakley, 1968). In fact, the availability of employment in these areas aided the process of boundary drawing and ethnic maintenance. Generally, working in Cypriot-owned firms was a means of the Cypriot ethnic identity maintenance and 'insularity' of Greek-Cypriots (Anthias, 1992, p. 55). This can be understood as part of their decolonisation process and a struggle to differentiate and distinguish themselves from the British way of life. Taylor (1988, p.13) attributes the fact that Cypriot migrants experienced less discrimination in employment compared to other migrant groups because of this tendency of being employed in business run by Cypriots.

One of the factors which contributed to the differentiation of the Greek-Cypriot community is its 'high occupational mobility' (Swann Report, 1985, p. 673; Taylor, 1988, p. 13). Many Greek-Cypriots managed to progress to self-employment, running their own business, restaurants, cafes and employing personnel from their family or other Greek-Cypriots (Anthias, 1992). In 1966, 19,6% of Cypriots living in London were self-employed, compared to 7,1% of the whole British population (Panayi, 2011). A few years later, in 1971, the number of Cypriots who were self-employed reached 23% compared to 9% of the British population (Teerling and King, 2011). In 1971 almost half percent (47,4%) of these were self-employed, the majority of whom in industry orders (Anthias, 1992). This tendency of Greek-Cypriots to progress to self-employment, can be explained based on the fact that the notion of

'economic independence' is considered as important in how they evaluated their class position (Anthias, 1992, p. 1992).

Indeed, the progression of a large part of Greek-Cypriots in self-employment, intensified the division of the Greek-Cypriot migrants based on their social class. The differentiation of Greek-Cypriot migrants in Britain is based on economic criteria and business success. The social class of Greek-Cypriot community was based on a spirit of economic consumption and competitiveness among its members. This is profound in the way they were settled geographically in the UK. The area of settlement was an indicator of the socio-economic status of the Cypriot migrants. For example, Greek-Cypriots who lived in Haringey were seen as peasants and those in Hendon as 'pseudo-aristocrats'. On the contrary, the Barnet area in London was seen as economically successful, as the majority of the Greek-Cypriots in this area owned their own business (Anthias, 1992).

### **5.3. Greek-Cypriot women in England**

The divisions within the Greek-Cypriot community, are not only based on class, but also on gender. In the mid to the late twentieth century, particular configurations of family remained a central element of Greek social structure. The role of women in Cyprus before and during the post-war period was mainly domestic and was restricted to them being housewives and looking after their family (Anthias, 1992).

The roles in the traditional Greek family are clearly divided, with the husband working to bring income to the family and the role of the wife being restricted to domestic and upbringing of the children. This is also an extent of the strict division and differentiation of the gender in social life, as part of the traditional Greek mentality. The social position of women is an integrative element in personal accounts and histories of Greek and Greek-Cypriot women in UK, as are presented in Evergeti (2006) and Papathanasiou (1990) research. This

research stresses the social norms and expectations for Greek-Cypriot women and the division of roles between the two genders. According to women's personal accounts, Greek-Cypriot women were restricted by family duties and obligations and these were viewed as part of a woman's ethnic and cultural identity (Evergeti, 2006, p. 359). These documents refer to a traditional Greek mentality, nurtured by a patriarchal society in which the division of genders was strongly imposed.

After the migration of Greek-Cypriots to U.K., the economic role and social position of Greek-Cypriot women changed profoundly (Constantinides, 1977). Greek-Cypriot women were no longer restricted to their domestic role, but they were actively contributing to their family income. Working-class women were mostly engaged in sewing at home or working in clothing factories as machinists or in their husband's business (Anthias, 1992, p. 99). They were often working for long hours and in difficult working conditions (Anthias, 1992; Constantinides, 1977). This change in the role of women increased the level of independence of these women, which was considered as a threat to the social role of men and the male 'honour' associated with him being the main provider of income in the family. This usually caused tensions in the family (Taylor, 1988, p. 22).

While Greek-Cypriot women have contributed in Cypriot entrepreneurship by helping financially in setting family business, they were also committed in 'transmitting' cultural values and normative virtues to their children, for example honour and respect. This can be a reason as to why they were considered as 'carriers of ethnicity' (Anthias, 1992, p. 91). As such, they contributed towards their children's identity development. This notion of femininity, nurturing, caring, knowing about emotions, being matriarchal in terms of the organisation of children, can have implications in pedagogic choices and practices in Greek supplementary schools. This might have been more profound in older generations of teachers, whether in younger generations, a gradual change in regards to the social position of women emerges.



Younger generations of Greek-Cypriot migrant women were employed in clerical, administrative work or hairdressing (Anthias, 1992, p. 99). The shifting role of Greek-Cypriot migrant women – both in terms of their social position and change in employment - can be understood as part of the process of redefining ethnic identity through the continuously changing social context (Evergeti, 2006). Based on a research by Finnis (2014), it was revealed that Greek-Cypriot community is undergoing cultural changes in gender and that identity, cultural norms and values, are constantly challenged and negotiated.

## **6. The Greek-Cypriot ethnic identity**

The historical changes in Cyprus, the socioeconomic background of Greek-Cypriots both in Cyprus and the UK, the process of settlement in the UK, as well as the relation of Cyprus with Britain, were factors that influenced the development of Cypriot migrants' ethnic identity. The development of ethnic identity needs be considered as part of the historical, social, economic and political context of Cyprus. Ethnic identity was shifting based on historical events, and particularly the anticolonial struggle of 1955-59 and the war of 1974 (Anthias, 1992). Especially for migrants these events can take a more intense form and affect their position to the host country. According to one testimonial from a Greek migrant, for example, the press and the media were positioned against Greek-Cypriots, as well as Greeks for permitting the anti-colonial struggle of 1955-1959 (Ekonomou and Halliday, 1988, p. 16). These widespread views influenced British people's perceptions and as a result, placed Greek-Cypriot migrants in the UK in an ambiguous position. The feelings and views of Greek-Cypriot migrants towards the Turkish invasion of 1974 were also pictured in personal histories of two refugees who felt anger and sorrow for these events (Ekonomou and Halliday, 1988, p. 20, 24). All these resulted in a wish to strengthen the sense of ethnic identity and consider this as an element of differentiation and distinctiveness from other ethnic groups (Anthias, 1991, p. 28).

Ethnic identity in the Greek-Cypriot community is strong and can take a different form from that of Greece and Cyprus. According to Gardner-Chloros et al (2005) research, the characteristic elements of Greek identity were perceived by Greek-Cypriots in London, as the Greek language, Orthodox Christianity and attending Greek religious and socialising events. Based on the same research, Cypriot members of the Greek community regard Greek language and Cypriot dialect as part of their cultural heritage and they wish to maintain this, even though they do not consider it as an identifier of belonging to the community. These results indicate Greek-Cypriot migrants' strong attachment to the country of origin and their psychological connection to the Greek language and culture. At the same time, they often wish to retain contact with the other migrants and strengthen their bonds with the community (Constantinides 1977, p. 275; Anthias, 1991, p. 28).

Apart from remaining attached to their home country, migrants are also part of their host country society. This tendency to see migrants, especially second-generation migrants, as caught between two worlds, is exemplified in the 1960-70s documentation and research. Watson's (1977) book exemplifies this tendency, providing empirical data on first and second-generation Greek-Cypriot migrants, based on the premise that particularly those who are born in Britain, *'are caught between the expectations of their parents ... and the social expectations of the wider society'* (Watson, 1977, p. 3). Research of this period presents Greek-Cypriot migrants in a fragile position and in an uncertainty of how to behave and act (Watson, 1977, p.3; Triseliotis, 1965, p.192). As Oakley (1968, p. 28) claims, this can be particularly intense in the case of Greek-Cypriot migrants in which family loyalty is considered as a significant Greek value (Oakley, 1968, p. 28). Greek-Cypriot community is considered as a 'moral community' and the community members judge each other based on strict moral and economic criteria (Constantinides, 1977, p. 297). These social norms and values were indicators, as was so claimed, of their perceived differentiation and superiority compared to other nations and this reinforced the strong sense of ethnic identity within the community

(Constantinides, 1977, p. 297). As the same author maintains, the practices of these values and norms especially by the second-generation Greek-Cypriot migrants, is affected by their exposure in two cultures, the Greek and the British. This reveals how the research of the period 1960-1970 reproduces certain notions of ethnic identity. Not only this, but also the ambiguity of Greek-Cypriots migrants regarding the nature of their settlement in the UK, with the restrictions embedded during their migration process and their wish to return to their home country soon, intensified the idea of living between two cultures.

More recent research by Papadopoulos' (2000) revealed that 'Greekness' is experienced in a different manner by each member of the community and at various levels. As can be extracted from the research findings, the perception of Greek identity is affected by Greek-Cypriot migrants' attachment to and understanding of certain Greek norms and values, as well as their socialisation in the Greek community. Even though these values and ideas may slowly start to fade away in relation to the social context which is subject to change, many of these norms and values are still in effect today. These had and still have an influence on teaching policies and practices and the way migrant students' identity is developed.

## **7. The education of Greek-Cypriot students in England**

The contextual information regarding the socio-economic background of the Greek-Cypriots, facilitates the understanding of who the people behind the establishment of Greek supplementary schools are. This in turn leads to examining how different perceptions and experiences impact the establishment of these schools how these affect the management, policies, pedagogy in these schools and generally the education of Greek-Cypriot migrant students.

It is argued that Greek-Cypriot parents had and still have high expectations and aspirations from their children. Educational achievement is valued and is

considered as a means for social advancement. Education in Cyprus can also be related to parents' ambitions to achieve high status and privilege (Triseliotis, 1965). Educational achievement was considered particularly important during post-war period, following urbanism and technological advancement and market competitiveness (Anthias, 1992; Swann Report, 1985). Similarly, more recent research by Prokopiou and Cline (2010, p. 81) revealed that the academic identities of students attending Greek supplementary schools were interrelated with students' development of cultural identities, based on the claim that *'being a good student is equated to being a good Greek'*.

The national education system in the 1960s followed an assimilationist procedure for immigrant children. This process necessitated the adoption of British norms, values and the exercise of duties as the other British citizens, which meant abandoning their culture and their way of living (Grosvenor, 1997; CIAC, 1964). The English language acquisition was considered as a means of assimilation of migrant children (Grosvenor, 1997). Children from Cyprus though, were attending school without any knowledge of the English language, which was considered as a requirement for their educational achievement in mainstream schools (Ministry of Education Pamphlet, 1963). This was outlined in the Swann Report (1985), as a significant factor for Cypriot migrant students' underachievement in mainstream schools. Based on the House of Commons Parliamentary Paper on the Education of migrants (1972), teachers reported that in 1971 42000 immigrant students in U.K. were unable to follow the national curriculum due to language difficulties.

Greek-Cypriot students' underachievement compared to Indian and Pakistani migrant students was outlined in the ILEA (Inner London Education Authority) Literacy Survey between 1968 –1975 (Jeffcoate, 1984). The Swann Report (1985, p.687-688) examined the factors related to Cypriot students' underachievement, based on the overall context, class and cultural background of Cypriot migrants. Immigrant students were considered as a problem due to their socio-economic background. Among the key factors examined, apart from the insufficient knowledge of the English language, were

the lack of nursery provision, the inappropriate curriculum, the inadequate home-school links and the lower teacher expectations and linguistic 'prejudice' for these students. All these could eventually result in a 'self-fulfilling prophecy'. A considerable factor for students' underachievement based on Rampton Report (1985), was the inability of teachers in mainstream schools to understand Cypriot students' background. According to the CIAC (1964), it was evidenced that some teachers were not able to meet the educational needs of migrant students as they only acquired limited information regarding their background. This can be related to the fact that teachers were not adequately trained in 'race relations' and the teaching of migrant students (House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1972). The solution that Rampton Report offered was that minority communities should now be responsible for teaching heritage to the children of the community (Conteh et al, 2007). This basically fits within a notion of a pluralistic society in which ethnic communities can establish their own schools, which can themselves function adequately within the overall aim of the communities for maintaining the ethnic identity of the students through community schools. As such, it can be inferred that the UK state perspective and the Greek supplementary schools' perspective, were fuelling the same policy in supplementary schooling.

The assimilation forces and the participation in a British education system and wider socialisation, caused concern for Greek-Cypriot parents for a gradual loss of their children's Greek ethnic identity (Constantinides, 1977, p. 284). These were claimed to be contributing factors which led the Greek-Cypriot migrants to think about mechanisms of resistance against assimilation processes. Greek-Cypriot migrants had a strong understanding of their origin and they often wished to maintain and transmit this notion of ethnic identity to their children. Their wish of maintaining values and traditions that were weakening in Cyprus by remaining attached to an idealised past (Triseliotis, 1965), reflects their understanding of primordial notions of ethnicity. Claims around the preservation of cultural traditions, values and norms is a common theme rising from the personal accounts of first and second-generation Greek-Cypriot

migrants in Ekonomou and Halliday's (1988) research. The inner wish for preservation of cultural heritage was claimed to be a means of constructing ethnic identities and providing a sense of belonging and ethnic identification to the following generations.

Greek supplementary schools were perceived and functioned as carriers of cultural heritage. The communities were engaged in routinely establishing communities, churches and schools, as these were considered as means of protection against assimilation processes, discriminatory practices and xenophobia which they faced during their migration. This can be understood as a way of fulfilling their wish to transfer the Greek heritage to the following generations and preserve their ethnic identity (Ekonomou and Halliday, 1988; Papathanasiou, 1990). These ambitions found expression in the development, over many years, of a system of supplementary schooling.

Many Greek supplementary schools were established following the increase in Greek migration after the Second World War. The teaching of the Greek language and religion was taking place in the Cathedral of St Sophia in Bayswater in London, where a small but prosperous Greek community was established. After 18 years of functioning in this place, it continued its operation in All Saints Church in London (George, 1960, cited in Taylor, 1988, p. 80; Pillas, 1992, p. 43).

In 1952 the first Greek school was established in London without the initiatives of the Greek Orthodox Church. This was established by a group of people guided by a Greek-Cypriot teacher and poet, Tefkros Anthias (Pillas, 1992, p.44). After the 1950s, many Greek community schools were founded and continue operating, following the large wave of immigration of Greek-Cypriots after the 1960s (Pillas, 1992). This can be related to the de-colonisation struggle of the Greek-Cypriots during the 1950s (Pillas, 1992) and the indirect effect of this on Greek-Cypriot migrants' aim for maintenance of their Greek identity in diaspora.

The efforts of Greek-Cypriot migrants to preserve the Greek language and culture to the following generations, is also reflected in the Select Committee for Race Relations and Immigration of 15<sup>th</sup> March, 1973. In this committee, representatives of the Cypriot community of Haringey in London were present, Mr. H. Direkoglou, Mrs. M. Philippou and Mrs. A. Papastylionou (as written in the document, but probably Papastylianou). These representatives raised some proposals for the education of Greek-Cypriot migrant students, even though they have not submitted a paper in advance. This eagerness of being present in this committee, is a sign of their wish to be represented and recognised as an ethnic community. In this committee, they suggested that the Greek language should be introduced into secondary schools. As they maintained, the time when Greek supplementary schools operate (Saturdays or weekday late afternoons), had a negative impact on students' motivation to attend these schools (House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1973, p. 186). The Cypriot representatives also supported that learning the Greek language can be beneficial for Cypriot immigrant students' entry in higher education. As part of their general wish for cultural transmission, they also suggested that youth centres should be developed, so that students can be taught about the Greek culture (House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 1973, p. 186). All these claims can be considered as part of the overall effort and wish of Greek migrants to transmit Greek language and culture to the following generations, as these were considered as indicators of Greek ethnic identity.

Approximately 70 Greek supplementary schools were functioning in the year that the fieldwork of this project took place, in 2014-2015, 2015-2016 (CEM, 2015). However, the economic crisis in Greece and Cyprus had an impact on the financial resources and the assistance provided to the supplementary education abroad. The Greek Ministry of Education does not provide financial support for equipping the schools with Greek teachers anymore, as part of the austerity measures (Simpson, 2014, p. 38). The Cyprus Ministry of Education is now responsible for the provision of teachers and materials to Greek supplementary schools. Greek supplementary schools themselves can also employ teachers

to teach in the schools. Based on Annual Reports from the Cyprus Ministry of Education the number of Greek supplementary schools has been reduced within a period of four years. In the school year 2008-2009 the number of Greek supplementary schools was 81, while during the school year 2014-2015 this number was decreased to 60 schools (MOEC, 2009; MOEC, 2015), presumably due to the economic crisis in Greece and Cyprus and the subsequent funding cuts for supplementary education. Even though the Annual Report generally refers to the number of Greek community schools 'abroad', without referring particularly to which countries it refers to, it can be assumed that the number of these schools concerns the UK. This is because the Cyprus Educational Mission in the UK is part of the Cyprus Ministry of Education and the number of Greek schools abroad, as it is mentioned, coincides with the number of Greek schools in the UK. The number of teachers employed in Greek supplementary schools has also been reduced from the school year 2012-2013 until the school year 2014-2015 (MOEC, 2014; MOEC, 2015). As a result of this, in 2011 the number of part-time teachers was increased following the economic crisis in Greece (Simpson, 2014, p. 38).

The number of pupils attending these schools has been significantly decreased from 8000 during the school year 2010-2011 to 5300 in the school year 2012-2013 (MOEC, 2012; MOEC, 2014). This can be viewed as a result of the reduction in the number of Greek supplementary schools. However, during the last few years, the number of students attending these schools has started to increase. From a number of 5300 students in 2012-2013 the number of students has been increased to 5400 students in the school year 2014-2015 (MOEC, 2015; MOEC, 2014). This can be regarded perhaps as a result of the concurrent migration of Greeks and Cypriots to other EU countries during the last few years due to the financial crisis.



**Summary of the chapter:**

This chapter examined significant waves of the Greek and Greek-Cypriot migration from the 19<sup>th</sup> century until today. This migration was marked by significant socio-political and economic changes in Greece and Cyprus. The formation of communities and educational institutions served the purpose of transmitting normative values, celebrating identities and functioned adequately within a pluralistic society. However, these aims, policies, ideas and practices need to be reconsidered and examined based on the context of social change and new migration waves.

The next chapter draws on empirical data from four Greek supplementary schools in the UK to examine how history and heritage pedagogy is practiced in these schools and how teachers and students consider ideas around identity in the fluid context of late modernity.

## **Chapter 5**

### **The case study schools and participants' background information**

The preceding chapter narrated some of the long history of Greek migration to the UK. It made clear that a substantial Greek community has existed in the UK since the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and its sense of identity was crucially shaped by the development of modern Greek nationalism. In this nationalism the notion of ethnicity, or 'genos', was particularly significant and it attributed particular roles to men and women. That sense of Greek identity, was maintained in community institutions. It was re-affirmed by the Greek and Greek-Cypriot migrants who came to Britain in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and who, from the 1960s onwards, founded schools that form a part of the present study.

The chapters five, six, seven and eight present the substantive findings of the study, examining findings regarding the background of the schools and participants, the development of students' identities, the history and heritage pedagogy and participants' suggestions. They draw on, present and discuss the data collated in four Greek supplementary schools in England. The data were retrieved from the schools' websites, from participants' questionnaires, interviews, ethnographic observations and official documents from the Cyprus Educational Mission (CEM). More details about the role of CEM are provided in chapter 1, section C.2.

This chapter sets out key information about the historical establishment of the four Greek supplementary schools that are the subject of the research. It explains the geographical location, the resources and the particular characteristics of the school that help explain their inclusion in the study. For the purposes of this research, the Greek supplementary schools in which the research was conducted were named Greek School A, Greek School B, Greek School C and Greek School D. The chapter also draws on data regarding the background of the research participants. The contextual and background information of the participants is important, as people were born and interact

in different places, times and contexts. It will be examined how this background information confirms, adds or contradicts the background and historical information on the Greek and Cypriot migration from the previous chapter and how it contributes in the interpretation of the data of the rest of the research.

## **A. The Case Study Schools:**

### **1.1. Greek school A**

The Greek school A was established in a West Midlands suburb at the beginning of 1970s [REDACTED]. The supplementary school was originally located in rooms above a Greek Orthodox church but at the beginning of 1990s it moved to a purposely built community centre, that incorporated the school next to the Greek Orthodox church (Greek school A website, 2016).

The first floor of the community centre, is a large hall used for the community's celebrations, festivals and for teaching dance and music classes. The Greek community's and school's commemorations take place in the Greek orthodox church and in the community centre. The second floor is used for teaching purposes and comprises classrooms from nursery to GCE. Outside the community centre there is also a playground, which can be used during playtime and for various students' activities and custom practices during celebrations and commemorations.

As was extracted from the background information provided in the questionnaires, the Greek supplementary school A, provides teaching for various ages and levels, from nursery class until GCSE and GCE A level exams,

as well as classes for adults students who wish to learn the Greek language. The school operates on some weekday afternoons, and on Saturdays from 10:00am – 15:00pm. There were 90 registered students in this school in the academic year 2014-2015. In the next academic year 2015-2016, the number of students was continually increasing, because of the influx of Greek immigrants from Greece and Cyprus, that resulted from the economic crisis that began in 2008. The head teacher of the school commented on this changing situation in the Greek supplementary schools by saying that this has influenced Greek schools' composition and their way of operation (App. 4, Teachers' Open Questionnaire No. 1).

The school syllabus provides teaching of the Modern Greek language up to GCE A level, religious and culture education, singing and dancing. Particularly for culture teaching, the curriculum does not only include teaching of commemorations, but also Aesop's myths, family celebrations and traditions and projects regarding Greece and Cyprus geography. Based on the aims of the school, this syllabus aims to enhance students' enthusiasm and motivation by acquiring a variety of knowledge and skills. The school, while it aims in cultivating students' pride for their ethnic and cultural background, it also promotes a sense of respect for the values of other ethnic minorities, an aim that acknowledges that there is a change in the wider social structure (Greek school A website, 2016).

The special characteristic of this school, which was the basic reason for its inclusion in this research, is that it was awarded the Golden Award from the National Resource Centre for Supplementary Education (NRCSE). The NRCSE is a "national strategic support organisation for supplementary education" (NRCSE website, 2016). It aims to raise the profile of supplementary education and its standards by developing systems of effective management and promoting both safe and enjoyable learning. These aims have been pursued by promoting the voluntary Code of Practice for Supplementary education.

This Code of Practice sets out standards in a number of key areas including the provision of a suitable learning environment and resources, effective teaching, procedures for monitoring and evaluation, and both staff and financial management. The Quality Framework for supplementary education awards, is administered by the NRCSE and determines the level at which supplementary schools implement the requirements of this Code of Practice. The NRCSE rewards a Bronze, Silver and Gold Award to supplementary schools, based on the level at which they meet the requirements of the Code of Practice for Supplementary Education (NRCSE, 2016). This is significant for this research, as the school has been recognised by an external body as outstanding, and follows procedures similar to mainstream schools. This research examined, in what ways this effects pedagogic choices and practices in the school.

The head teacher of Greek school A, when asked about which the factors which contributed in gaining this award were, replied that this was due to the excellent cooperation between the teachers, the parents and the students. More specifically, the head teacher stressed the importance of a systematic lesson programming and the creation of a portfolio for each student, in which the teachers at the end of the school year write comments, include students' activities, creations and pictures. This is an innovation of this particular school which, according to the head teacher, does not take place in other Greek supplementary schools. Another innovation of this school is the 'parent-teacher communication sheet', in which teachers provide information regarding students' weekly progress in reading, writing and oral speech, spelling and behaviour. All these initiatives aim to provide individualised teaching activities and content, based on each student level and abilities (App. No. 4, Teachers' Open Questionnaire No. 1).

A thorough examination of the school's website also reveals that there is a clear programme of study for each level of study in the school. There are also child protection policies, health and safety policies and an equal opportunities

statement (Greek school A website, 2016). These policies, as well as the policies regarding planning, monitoring students' progress and performance, are basic criteria for receiving the Golden Award. They are also characteristics found in a well-resourced school. This may affect the perception and appreciation that students and parents have for the school, as well as the school's social positioning.

## **1.2. Greek school B**

Greek school B started operating sometime towards the end of 1950s and is adjacent to a Greek Orthodox church. Both church and school are located in the city centre of a large, multicultural city in the West Midlands.

The supplementary school was initially operating from a shop owned by members of the Greek community, but the large influx of Greek-Cypriot immigrants during the 1960s, necessitated renting rooms in British schools. This lasted for forty years. However, the long distance which Greek immigrants had to travel in order to perform their religious duties and the need for a permanent place to worship, led to the inauguration of a Greek orthodox church at the end of 1970s in this city (Greek school B website, 2016). This was done with fund-raising which was conducted by members of the Greek community (App. 6, Students' Interview 5).

At the beginning of 1990s the Greek supplementary school was built next to a Greek orthodox church in the city (Greek school B website, 2016). The current school consists of a playground and a hall, which are used for students' lunchtime, playtime, community festivals and celebrations. The music and dance classes take place in the hall of the school (App. No. 5, Teachers' Observation 1).

Based on information received from the questionnaires, the number of the students during the school year 2014-2015 was 95 students. During the same year, there were thirteen teachers in the school, including a teaching assistant, a music teacher, a dance teacher and a priest who is responsible for religious education (Teachers' Questionnaire Responses, 2014-2015). Teaching is offered to a variety of ages and levels from nursery to adult students. The lessons operate mainly every Saturday and during the afternoon of some weekdays, during which teaching of adults is offered, teaching of GCSE and A level exams and provision of teaching to students who need additional support. The school, apart from the Greek language and culture teaching, also provides dance, music and Greek-orthodox religion learning on Saturdays during the existing teaching time (Greek School B website, 2016).

Greek School B has three other characteristics that make it a valuable site for research. The first is simply longevity, as it was established more than fifty years ago. Secondly, one of the head teachers of the school has been teaching in this school for fifty years and was also a head teacher of the school for more than twenty years. He has taught three generations of Greek immigrant students and was awarded for his services in education (Greek School B newsletter; English newspaper in school B website, 2016). The high level of experience presents a valuable source of evidence for the project.

Greek School B has also received the Bronze award from the National Resource Centre for Supplementary Education (NRCSE). The school's committee seems to have contributed in receiving this award, as they are involved in school's administration and maintenance. One of the members of the school committee adds though, that he does not help in 'the academic part of the school'. He agrees with the non-involvement of the school committee in education, due to the lack of expert knowledge on educational issues (App. 6, Students' Interview 5).

The school aims in enhancing the empathy and respect for others and a bicultural understanding and aims at promoting and maintaining the moral and ethical values of the Greek orthodox family (Greek school B website, 2016). Giving emphasis to a bicultural understanding, shows the school's wish in promoting a sense of respect for the Greek and English culture only, instead of a multicultural understanding. The aims and the curriculum of the school, reproduce the aims of the curriculum for the Greek supplementary schools (CEM, 2015), as examined in chapter one. More particularly, the aims of the school's curriculum is for students to acknowledge the historical continuity of the Greek nation, and appreciate, as it claims, the contribution of Greek culture in the development of the European culture and finally, to empower their national identities and their 'fighting spirit' for justice regarding the Cyprus issue (Greek School B website, 2017). Through the data of this research, it is examined whether the aims of the school's curriculum are reproduced in teaching practices.

### **1.3. Greek school C**

Greek school C was founded at the beginning of the 1980s by Greek Parish members. It is located in a growing ethnically diverse city in South East England, in which there is a prestigious university. It is adjacent to an Orthodox church. The school operates under the auspices of the Greek community and has its own school committee (Greek school C website, 2016).

In the school year 2014-2015, six teachers were employed on a sessional basis in the school and it provided learning to 90 students (Teachers' Questionnaire Responses, 2014-2015). As in Greek School A, the head teacher of Greek school C anticipated increasing numbers of students because of rising numbers of migrants coming to Britain from Greece and Cyprus (App. 4, Teachers'



Interview 7). The data of this doctoral research will explain how this special characteristic of this school, can affect teaching and learning in this school.

A special characteristic of this school, and a key reason for its selection as a site for study, emerged while analyzing the questionnaires' data. The majority of students in Greek school C are of Greek origin, while the majority of the students of the other schools of the research are of Greek-Cypriot origin (Students' Questionnaire Responses, 2014-2015). When I asked for the reasons behind this characteristic, the head teacher explained:

*"I think that the Greek School C and Greek school [name of town] are special cases because they concentrate a high number of academics, who most of them come from Greece [...] the 2/3 of our students are Greeks [...] in these 2/3 thirds there are lots of mixed marriages, that is Greek with an Australian, English, Portuguese, we have lots of mixed marriages [...]" (App. No. 4, Teachers' Interview 7).*

Based on information received from the questionnaires, lessons are provided to students from nursery, in which there is a higher number of registered students compared to the other levels, until GCE A level. The lessons operate during late afternoon hours on Fridays and for two hours on Saturday (Teachers' Questionnaire Responses, 2014-2015, 2015-2016). What is different, compared to other supplementary schools, is that many classes operate at the same time and the lesson lasts for two hours only (while other supplementary schools operate for five hours on Saturday). This, according to the head teacher, contributes to the successful operation of the classes and a better learning outcome. As the head teacher explained, there is an effort to include a small number of students in each class and students of the same level (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 7). Based on information received from the school's website, the school aims at enhancing active learning and younger students'

oral communication based on a variety of engaging activities (Greek school C website, 2016).

Another special characteristic of the school, compared to the other schools of the research, is that lessons take place in rented rooms in a building adjacent to the Greek orthodox church (Greek school C website, 2016). The head teacher of the school, has mentioned the positive outcomes of operating in these particular premises. She stressed the importance of the social character of the school, in connecting both communities (the parish one and the Greek community) which contributes in the development of students' social identities as they socialise with people from other communities, as well as the economic factor, which also affects the operation of the school (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 7).

The high number of students of Greek origin in this specific school, as well as teaching in rented premises, were the main factors which urged me to conduct my research in this school. It is also newer as it was established approximately twenty years after school A and B. This enables the examination of how these factors affect teaching and learning, in comparison to the other supplementary schools.

#### **1.4. Greek school D**

The Greek school D is located in a town in East Midlands. At the end of 1980s, a small group of expatriate Greeks established a Greek community in the area. After the foundation of the Greek community, the Greek community bought a church and built a community hall next to the church. This had to be readjusted in order to suit the educational purposes of the supplementary school (Greek school D , 2016).

Greek school D had 50 students during the school year 2014-2015, with the majority of the students being British born Greek-Cypriots, but with an increasing number of Greek and Greek-Cypriot students who have migrated to UK recently. The lessons which operate in this school include a variety of ages and levels from nursery up to adult classes. These operate during late afternoon hours in two weekdays and from morning until the afternoon on Saturdays (Teachers' Responses, 2014-2015).

The first floor of the school is used as a community hall for community's festivals, celebrations and commemorations. The classrooms are located in the second floor. According to the head teacher of the school, the school is small but friendly and hospitable, with a family spirit (App. 5, Teachers' Observation 3). The main aim of the school is the religious, ethnic and social education of the children, while retaining, as it is claimed, the characteristics of the orthodox and Greek tradition (Greek school D website, 2016).

One special characteristic of the school is that it emphasises the educational drama as a learning method. According to the interview with the teacher who is specialised in drama education and implements this teaching method, this activity was implemented as after-school drama lessons for five months during the school year 2014-2015 and was taught additionally to the normal school lessons. However, as the teacher mentioned in the interview, despite the fact that there was interest from the students (20 students were attending these lessons), these lessons were interrupted due to the parents' long travelling distance. The teacher though, continues using educational drama techniques for her teaching (App. No. 4, Interview 4).

Another special characteristic of the school is that it organizes various cultural events and also takes part in various competitions and activities organised by the CEM or the Ministries of Education of Greece and Cyprus. The head teacher of the school explained in her interview that the school was awarded

with the first prize in many competitions amongst mainstream schools in Greece. As part of the observations conducted in the school, the head teacher toured me around the school and showed me the classrooms and students' work. The head teacher described in a very enthusiastic manner how she tries to promote students' work by taking part in competitions and sending pictures of students' work and of their participation in ethnic celebrations to CEM. The head teacher also promotes the organisation of extra-curricular activities regarding various Greek cultural themes (Appendix 5, observation 3; Appendix 4, Interview 8). The fact that Greek school D maintains such close relations with Greek schools, and that it places emphasis on cultural events, marks it out as making particular efforts to promote Greek identity. This makes it an appropriate site for further research.

## **B. The participants**

### **1. Students' background information**

The total number of students who participated in questionnaires, open questionnaires and interviews were thirty four, including adult and former students (see Appendix 3, Table no. 3).<sup>1</sup>

Most of the students who participated in the research were male, aged 13 and 14 years old, born in the UK with a Cypriot origin. Most of the students were at GCE A level and pre-GCSE level at their Greek supplementary school. Part of the students migrated to the UK during the last ten years, and this is more prominent in school C (Appendix 3, Table nos. 6-11). The recent migration of

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<sup>1</sup>For clarity, the adults and former students' questionnaires were analysed separately and these will be discussed separately to the results of students between 13-18 years old to compare views and practices. When referring to results of students, these are students aged 13-18 years old, and adults responses are referred to in brackets.

students to the UK, coincides with the economic crisis of Cyprus and Greece and the subsequent large influx of Greek migrants.

All the adult students were aged 45 years old and above and were born in the UK. Former students were also born in the UK with Cypriot origin. Information was received from students who attended Greek school B during different time periods starting from 1960, and members of the school committee of the same school (App. 3, Table nos 13, 14). The information received from former students, can provide useful information in regards to comparing attitudes and teaching practices with those of current students.

## **2. Teachers' background information**

The total number of teachers who participated in the research were twenty eight (App. 3, Table 2). Most of the teachers are female, 20-30 years old and they were born in Greece and Cyprus (App. 3, Table nos 15-17). The great majority of the teachers are first generation migrants (23 teachers), while only two of them are second generation migrants from Greek and Greek-Cypriot parents who migrated in the UK. The parents of some of the Greek-Cypriot teachers are refugees, from the north part of Cyprus (5 teachers) (Teachers' Results, 2014-2015, 2015-2016). This information is potentially important because it can condition memories, identities and attitudes towards the functions of Greek supplementary schooling.

The majority of the teachers who teach in the supplementary schools are professional teachers. Interestingly, most teachers are hourly-paid rather than full-time teachers and this can be related to the financial constraints of the economic crisis in Greece and Cyprus. Most of the teachers do not have a lot of teaching experience in Greek supplementary schools, as most of the sample taught between one and two years. This raises the issue of retention of the

teachers which may subsequently have an effect on pedagogy. The majority of the teachers teach third year and GCE level, and especially ages 9-10 years old to 17 years old, ages crucial to the development of students' identities (App. 3, table nos. 18-21; American Psychological Association, 2002).

## **2.1. Teachers' migration to the UK**

Almost half of the teachers of the teachers came to UK to study and to work. Part of these teachers migrated for both study and work (App. 3, Table no. 22). More particularly, as was further explained in the interviews, most of the teachers came to UK for their postgraduate studies and afterwards they stayed in UK, due to better working opportunities and to gain teaching experience. Just as earlier in the twentieth century economic conditions in Greece and Cyprus were a key motivation for migration (Oakley, 1970: 34; Rousou, 2003). Young people were particularly vulnerable to unemployment in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis and this explains migration patterns over the last decade (Fotiadou, 2017; Eurostat, 2017). The reasons for teachers' migration suggest that the social structure of the Greek community is in a process of change and presents a new dynamic in regards to its population.

Following their migration to the UK, their involvement in teaching in Greek schools and the Greek community, teachers of Greek supplementary schools can also be considered as important components of the Greek community. These teachers, the majority of whom are women, are responsible for the construction of identity (Anthias, 1992, p. 91), but they must mediate between a community that is increasingly diverse. Apart from this, they are women themselves with changing aspirations and opportunities, as discussed in chapter four (Evergeti, 2006; Finniss, 2014). Krystallidou et al (2010) claim that a basic criterion for membership of a community is someone who is capable of 'transmitting' the ethnic and cultural elements of the community, even if they

do not actively participate in the community's activities. In this view, it is simply Greek migrants' proximity or symbolic membership to Greece, and their familiarity with the culture, that enables to transmit the culture. These particular migrants take a more conscious and visible role in the construction of Greek identity.

Teachers are responsible for the organization and presentation of community's celebrations and commemorations, as they select and teach the texts, poems, songs or theatrical plays of each commemoration. They also participate in these commemorations. As was extracted from the interviews, part of the teachers feel that they are members of the community through teaching in Greek supplementary schools, as they come closer to children's parents who are members of the Greek community (App. 4, Interviews 2 and 4). Some of the teachers are also engaged in philanthropic activities of the Greek community (App. 3, Table no. 23).

Most of the teachers interviewed for this research, expressed the wish to stay in the UK and Greek supplementary schools were an important part of this motivation. For example, a teacher in Greek School D, expressed the wish to get involved with teaching in Greek supplementary schools to experience the meaning of unity and solidarity (App. 4, Interview 6). Similarly, one of characteristics of the Greek-Cypriot community was an expressed wish to maintain contact with the other migrants and strengthen their bonds with the community (Constantinides 1977, p. 275; Anthias, 1991, p. 28). According to the results of this doctoral study, this appears to still be the case for the current Greek communities. Generally, forming communities and frequent communication between the members of the Greek community was and is a means of forming strong identities.

Another teacher of Greek School D, wished to observe how the contested meaning of culture is understood by the members of the Greek community. As she explained:

*"I had that intrinsic wish, the joy (she used the Greek word 'kefi') to observe the culture (here), that is to say how they (the members of the community) understand/accept culture" (App. 4, Interview 1).*

The above teacher's reply and wish to observe how the members of the community accept or understand the concept of culture, suggests that culture can take a different form and perceived differently by the community members. This implies that there may be different understandings of the culture, which weakens the claims and the emphasis of the Greek community on cultural transmission and preservation.

Upon their migration to the UK, their involvement in teaching in Greek schools and the Greek community, teachers of Greek supplementary schools can also be considered as part of the Greek community. This affects the development of their identities, and particularly their social identities. As Krystallidou et al (2010) claim, a member of the community is someone who can 'transmit' the ethnic and cultural elements of the community, even if he does not actively participate in the community's activities. Greek supplementary school teachers' role in teaching in these schools, and 'transmitting' ethnic and cultural values, can be considered as one of the reasons for being a member of Greek community. Their social role as part of the Greek community is indicated in their responses regarding their participation in various activities of the Greek community, as well as their reasons for teaching in Greek community schools. Based on questionnaire teachers' responses, most of the teachers participate in the Greek community by taking part in community celebrations, commemorations and festivals (App. 3, Table No. 22).



**Summary:**

In all the four case study schools, the wish of part of the Greek communities for preservation and continuation of the Greek ethnic elements was prevalent. The case study schools were established between 1950s-1980s, a period of large influx of Greek-Cypriot migration in the UK, due to historical factors and structural changes in the island. The results from the students' background information indicate that the schools and the community itself, are in a process of structural change. This may have consequences to classroom dynamics and suggests that policies and practices may need to be re-considered to adjust to this new situation.

## **Chapter 6**

### **The development of student's identities in Greek supplementary schools**

Chapter five presented and discussed data which set the background of the establishment of the case study schools and their peculiar characteristics, as well as participants' background. It was revealed that the establishment of these schools was based on the efforts of its members for the continuation of community cohesion and the preservation of its ethnic and cultural characteristics. This idea affected the synthesis of the community and the schools and the role attributed to them as 'carriers' of culture and ethnicity. On the other hand, it was observed that recent migration waves from Greece and Cyprus bring a change to the composition of this community and of the schools.

This chapter examines how the students of this research construct their identities as part of a community characterised by strong membership, cultural and ethnic bonds, as well as part of a community undergoing a transitional period of structural changes. It draws on data from all the phases of the research to examine how elements and factors from the macro, meso levels affect the micro level, and how all these influence the development of students' identities. More particularly, it examines how people in diaspora are likely to reflect on or produce certain notions of identities as a result of their experiences of migration, of their social position, configurations of class and gender, as well as memories, values and certain expositions of culture and identity. This can elucidate and explain pedagogic choices and practices in the micro level, as the construction or maintenance of ethnic identities in the Greek communities influences history and heritage pedagogical practices.

### **A. Students' attitudes and perceptions on their nationality**

Immigrant and ethnic minority students were asked to indicate how they describe their national identity (App. 2, Students' Questionnaire). The questionnaires' data revealed interesting results on how Greek immigrant students consider their identity, as most of the students aged from 13 to 18 years old considered themselves as Greek-Cypriots. This was clearly the most popular description of ethnic identity. Interestingly, the majority of the students who consider their ethnic identity as Greek-Cypriots, were students attending Greek School B and were aged 13 years old (App. 4, Table nos. 24, 25). All students of this school who participated in the research were born in the UK, but their preference for choosing a hyphenated identity, warrants further investigation. Selecting a hyphenated identity can be related with the status of Greek-Cypriot immigrants within the UK, which can be differentiated from the way of a native Greek immigrant construct his/her identity. Cypriots are connected to the UK with a colonial past, struggles for independence and unification with Greece. Their relation with the Greek identity is 'essentialised into blood' and 'bonds of brotherhood' with Greece (Philippou, 2009:1). These ideas are transferred in curricula and policies and in turn influence the construction of students' identities. Students' socialisation into ethnic identities is also part of the process through which personal identities are located into wider social narratives. Ethnic identities are developed based on personal choices, the social context, and wider influences of acts of imagination, norms and values.

Students' interviews revealed how students' experiences influence how they perceive their identities. This section draws on examples of two 16-17 years old third generation female students of Greek School B, born in the UK (Student-d and Student-e) (App. 3, Table no. 3). One of the students (Student-e) follows Greek practices and she participates in Greek cultural celebrations. This is because she feels that Greek celebrations provide a more authentic expression of her personal identity. As the student maintained:

*"I feel that I am more Greek-Cypriot, it influences my life more, I think my culture is more me, so if people ask me why are you going to church this week 'It's Easter', yes but it was before, 'No it's Greek Easter, it's different', I have never celebrated something in an English way, wedding is Greek, Easter Greek, Christmas Greek, church Greek, everywhere, even at home we don't speak English a lot [...]" (App. 6, Student Interview 4).*

The above student (Student-e) is emotionally connected with her ethnic identity, as she feels that she is more Greek-Cypriot even though she was born and raised in the UK. This part of her appears to be a decisive element for the development of her personal identity. Indeed, emotions constitute a definitive element of personal identities (Archer, 2000). Not only this, but identity appears to be a social construct in case of this student, influenced by her micro-context and the Greek manner of celebrations and cultural events. Being brought up in a social environment where cultural practices are conducted in a 'Greek manner', had an impact on how her identity was constructed. This also shows how personal and social identities are interconnected and how the one contributes to construction of the other (Craib, 1998, p. 4).

Student-e, appears to have a stronger sense of her ethnic identity in contrast to Student-d. Student-d appears to still be negotiating her identity, as she is dichotomised between the English and the Greek culture (App. 6, Student Interview 3). Generally, the development of personal identities involves a battle between 'logos' and 'pathos', the intrusion of cognitive reflection in the emotions (Archer, 2000, p. 194). This student's 'pathos' for the Greek way of life and the adoption of Greek cultural habits in her everyday life, appears to be the reason for the Greek part of her identity. However, she also acknowledges that another part of her identity is influenced by the English culture, as she admits that she tries to find a balance between the Greek and the English way of life (App. 6, Student Interview 3). Considering migrants as caught between two worlds was exemplified in the 1960-70s documentation and research, and aimed at presenting a certain type of identities (e.g. Watson, 1977). Instead of considering the development of her identity as a process of battle between

two worlds, Student-d's identity is in the process of evaluating and rearticulating her first order emotions and re-thinking about her identity. Age does not seem to be a contributing factor for the difference in the above students' perceptions on their identity, as they are of approximately the same age of 16-17 years old. Student-d may feel uncertain about her identity, as she may be reconsidering her concerns and commitments. These students' reflections are indicative of the continuous conflict between 'pathos' and 'logos', as discussed in chapter two, and this process seems to contribute in developing her identity. As she confessed:

*"I like the way of living in Cyprus, people are more relaxed, I wonder whether we could live like that. I try to put that into effect in my everyday life. I try to be somewhere in the middle (the Greek way of life and the English one). I like the culture a lot, the language, I love the Greek language, I wish I could live there."*  
(App. 6, Student Interview 3).

Student-d, is a 16-17 years old girl with one of her parents from UK and the other with Cypriot origin (App. 3, Table no. 3). This denotes that she experiences both cultures and values at her family environment, while at the Greek school is connected to the 'Greek part' of her identity. That can explain her wish to be 'somewhere in the middle' and her identity is developed based on these experiences.

The above responses reveal that the development of students' personal identities is influenced by students' feelings towards the Greek culture and certain representations of ethnic identity. They also represent a nostalgic notion of Greek culture, based on students' past, personal experiences and memories, which influence their present choices and perceptions of their identities. This is generated by their personal and family background as they are children of second-generation Cypriot migrants, who aimed at maintaining the ethnic identity through transferring a 'love' towards the Greek/Cypriot culture.

This section examined how students' personal experiences of being attached to the Greek culture, and being raised in an environment where these are conditioned and preserved, play an important role in shaping their personal identities. These are constructed through a battle of logos and pathos, a reflection on emotions and concerns, with emotions and feelings of nostalgia prevailing in the case of the construction of students' ethnic identities. This perception of identity can be changed based on macro context and wider social changes. The next section provides data from the meso and macro context of the participants, which expand on and attempt to explain the above results. The division and structure of the findings based on levels, is consistent with the theoretical model which underpins this research and is based on a view of a stratified world and a structured social reality (Carter, 2000).

## **1. The development of students' identities in the macro-level**

### **1.1. Living in a pluralistic environment and students' identity**

The preservation of identities in a pluralistic society can be understood as a response by immigrants to experiences of exclusion and racism (Myers 2015; Andrews, 2013). Similar claims can be traced in the head teacher's of Greek School A response of how learning about Greek history and tradition contribute to developing students' ethnic identities. For her, learning about Greek culture, can subsequently contribute in preserving and empowering students' identities. This can act as a form of 'protection' against the threat of assimilation to the multiculturalist environment in which students live (App. 4, Teachers' Open Questionnaire No. 1).

According to the same head teacher, living in a pluralist environment, as this of the UK, contributes in a negative way to the development of students' identities, as the students through their effort to be accepted and

incorporated in the society they live, may deny or refuse their ethnic identity. This is where the teachers can contribute, as she so claims, in transferring the love and pride they feel for their country (App. 4, Teachers' Open Questionnaire No. 1).

These views are also reproduced in the provisions of the curriculum for Greek supplementary education. As it is claimed, one of the aims of Greek supplementary schools, is to 'preserve' and empower Greek ethnic identity, in order to protect the students from the possible 'threats' of living in a pluralist society (CEM, 2015). One means of preserving and empowering identities, as can be so inferred from the policies and the curriculum of Greek supplementary education, was and still is the teaching of history and heritage in Greek supplementary schools.

On the contrary, a teacher in Greek school C (Teacher-b), does not consider pluralism as a threat, but as a means of enhancing students' critical thinking and broaden their understanding of people's actions, by comparing people's actions in their context. As she explains, because students live in such a pluralist context, it is easier for them to accept and embrace 'difference' by knowing and learning about other cultures. Similarly, it is easier to teach cultural elements to the students, because students are already influenced by these experiences. This is how the teacher supports the positive contribution of pluralism in developing students' identities:

*"I think that it (learning about history and tradition) is something which can help (children) to gain a wider understanding, that ok we are here and we do this, but it's not everywhere like this [...] so within a framework like this, it's easy for us to do it too, within the period of time and the degree we can, but for the children it is something that they easily accept [...] in this multicultural framework"* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview No. 2).

The head teacher of Greek School D, provides an example of how students can actively learn about the positive contribution of pluralism and living in a

multicultural society. Greek school D participated in a competition which was called '*One planet ... one opportunity*' (App. 4, Teachers' Interview No. 8). This was the topic of a student competition of short duration films, which was organised by the elementary education in Serres (Greece) in collaboration with the department of the Educational TV of the Greek Ministry of Education and the Festival of Short Duration Movies in Drama (Greece). The competition was addressed to students of elementary and secondary education of Greece, Cyprus and diaspora and aimed at enhancing students' learning and their social and creative skills (Educational TV, 2017).

The students in Greek School D produced a short film in which they have combined three different refugee stories in three different time periods. It included the story of Virgin Mary, that of a female refugee from the 1974 period in Cyprus and a female refugee from Syria with her children. The teachers actively engaged students into critically comparing these three stories, of which the two of them were more familiar to them (the story of Virgin Mary and the refugee woman from Cyprus). They used these cases to understand the experiences of being a refugee in three different contexts, to empathise with the current refugee problem in Syria and examine the values of pluralism, of acceptance, tolerance and embracing difference. As the head teacher of the school concluded regarding this experience:

*"We have combined that, in order to deliver this message: one planet one opportunity for one better world"* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview No. 8).

We have further discussed with the head teacher about this educational activity, as an opportunity for the students to connect and compare the past with the present and their experiences. This is a process of developing students' historical consciousness and to render them as historical subjects, able to position themselves in time and space (Seixas, 2012, p. 865). Taking part in this competition is related to the overall effort of the school to participate in educational competitions and promote students' work, as discussed in



chapter 5, section A, 1.1. As this example illustrates, this is conducted in a more dialogic process of constructing students' identities, in contrast to the traditional, didactic approaches usually employed in the Greek and Cypriot educational system and supplementary education (Mavroskoufis, 2010; Psaltis et al, 2011; Papatheodorou, 2007).

Similarly to the above example, a teacher in Greek school D (Teacher-e) explained that students negotiate their identities by positioning themselves not only in relation with the history of their country, but also in relation to others, through a comparison of the past in relation to the present. The teacher supported her view regarding the development of identities by providing an example of how students can critically think about Germany's actions during the Second World War with Greece and how they should behave towards Germans at present. Thinking critically about people's actions in the past and present can help students deal with preconceptions, and think about how they should treat the nations with whom Greece or Cyprus were involved in a war. As she explained:

*"[...] for example regarding the war with Germans, I have friends who are Germans, I speak German at school, which was the position of the Greeks back then, which is the position of the Greeks now, which is my position? So they negotiate their identity" (App. 4, Teachers' Interview No. 6).*

The above data suggest that teachers' perceptions and teaching practices are changing and that these are influenced by their experiences as teachers in pluralistic contexts. For example, the head teacher of Greek School D has lived in the UK and taught in the school for more than six years and Teacher-e studied in the UK (App. 3, Table no.4; App. 4, Teachers' Interview No. 6). In contrast to narratives on culture and identity in need of protection, as discussed in Chapter 6 Section 3.4., these views and practices present a more negotiable view of culture and identity. Other research in Greek supplementary schools in UK has also revealed that teachers' experience in multicultural settings was crucial in shaping their perceptions and approaches

regarding intercultural education (Pantazi, 2006; Pantazi, 2008; Pantazi, 2010).

## **1.2. Social values and Interaction with the social context**

The development of identities can be considered as a result of the social context and interaction with people from different cultural backgrounds. Current social and historical changes, render the development of the migrants' identities contested, fluid and subject to changes (Schissler, 2009, p.1). This leads to migrants questioning about their identities, through reflection and morphogenesis. This process is particularly intense for ethnic minorities and immigrants, as they are perceived as representatives of Greece abroad, which inculcates their need for preserving and strengthening their ethnic identities through retrieving to a glorious past (Tamvakis, 2008; Koufaki-Prepi, 1998). Policies themselves are guided from these claims and the perception of Greek minorities' identities as fragile and in need of protection (CEM, 2015).

The findings regarding how current students consider their ethnic identity, are different with how former, second generation students of Greek School B consider their identity, as most of them chose a dual national identity (App. 3 Table No. 26). This raises questions of the influence of age, social background and personal experiences on the development of identities.

More particularly, two second-generation, former students of Greek supplementary schools and members of the school committee of Greek School B, Former Student-b and Former Student-c, consider their identities as British Greek-Cypriot (App. 3, Table No. 26). This section provides additional contextual and background information on the historical development of the Greek communities in the UK provided in chapter 4, as it discussed how two members of the school committee who are involved in and are responsible for the school, conceptualise and negotiate their identities. They both shared similar experiences in regards to how their experiences from their macro and meso contexts facilitated the formation of their identities. As Former Student-c

explained, the Greek-Cypriot part of his identity is justified by his active involvement in the Greek community:

*"... I was born here as well and I've grown up in a British environment, however, I have this Greek-Cypriot part of my life, in the church, in the (school) committee, in the community..."* (App. 6, Students' Interview no. 5).

Another reason for considering himself as British Greek-Cypriot and not Greek-Cypriot can be traced in his personal experiences and how he was treated by others. More specifically, as he revealed, his feelings about being a British Greek-Cypriot have been influenced by his personal experiences in Cyprus during the last few years. Interestingly, based on his experience, he is considered as a Greek-Cypriot when he visits Cyprus, but he is often treated with prejudice, due to Greek-Cypriots' perception of Greek-Cypriot immigrants' social and economic status. However, he continues by explaining that even though he is 'attracted' to Cyprus, he feels that he is both Cypriot and English. He supports English sport teams, because, as he explained, he was born in England (App. 6, Students' Interview no. 5).

Former Student-b shared the same experiences as Former Student-c, which influenced how he considers his identity. What is more interesting though, is that when he provided more details regarding his experience, he explained that he is treated as a foreigner when he visits Cyprus, and disclosed his disappointment at his characterisation as 'Charlis' (a nomination of how Cypriots characterise the Greek-Cypriots who were born or lived in UK) by Greek-Cypriots. This implies that either he is not positively inclined in being considered as different from other Greek-Cypriots or because of the prejudice existing towards Greek-Cypriot immigrants. This prejudice can be related to Greek-Cypriots' migration or being born and brought up in another country or the fact that the Greek-Cypriot community is characterised by a high occupational mobility, as discussed in chapter 4, section 5.2. This explanation was also provided by Former Student-c, as discussed above. Nonetheless, Former Student-b is not treated as a 'foreigner' only when he visits Cyprus, but

also in the UK, even though he adopted some British habits and norms. This is how he justified his perception of his ethnic identity:

*"I am British Greek-Cypriot because I have a British passport, I was born here. I have British habits, norms and Greek characteristics too. Here you meet the prejudice, you are not treated as a British and you are also treated as 'ξένος' (= foreigner) when you go to Cyprus. You are not treated as Cypriot, you are also treated as 'ξένος', 'Charlis', or whatever. You learn to live with that and deal with that prejudice" (App. 6, Students' Interview no. 2).*

Both former students developed their identities based on their personal experiences in two social contexts, UK and Cyprus. Even though they are active members of the Greek community and the Greek School B, they appear to be negotiating their identities. Their negotiation of identities can also be related to their age. Former Student-b is 40-50 years old and Former Student-c is 50-60 years old, and compared to younger ages, they are more developmentally ready to have a clear exposition of their identities. Both former students can be viewed as examples of how the development of identities can be considered as a reaction to the social context and as a defensive mechanism towards experiences of discrimination and prejudice. This is how Former Student-b characterizes this type of behaviour, which considers 'difference' as a possible destruction. As he remarked, he learned to live and deal with this type of behaviour (App. 6, Students' Interview no. 2). These feelings can also be regarded as a result of the ambiguous position of Greek-Cypriot migrants in the UK. As discussed in chapter four, Greek-Cypriots in the UK were also faced with discrimination due to their status as immigrants, but they were also carrying a colonial past. On the other hand, living in the UK for many years and the high occupational mobility of Greek-Cypriot immigrants, can be considered as factors for being differentiated from the Cypriot inhabitants. These can be reasons that urged both those former students into negotiating their identities and adopting to both British and Greek way of life.

Sections A, 1.1 and 1.2 revealed that younger people's identities are influenced by a nostalgic account of a glorious and mythologised past and perception of Greece and Cyprus, while second generation ethnic minority identities are rather constructed based on their social roles, their experiences of living in a pluralistic environment and their reflections on their concerns, commitments and roles attributed to them within a context of continuous changes. This shows how identities undergo a process of morphogenesis based on personal experiences and interaction with their macro social context (Archer, 2000, p. 261).

## **2. The development of students' identities in the meso-level:**

As was discussed in chapter two, the development of agents' identities is influenced by their social context and the wider structure (Craib, 1998, p. 23). Ethnic minorities and ethnic minority students interact with communities, Greek supplementary schools and the Greek Orthodox church. This section examines how the interaction with these spaces influences the construction of their identities.

### **2.1. Being a member of the Greek community in the UK**

Greek migrants are not only part of a wider pluralistic context, but they are also part of diaspora and smaller ethnic communities. It is a common characteristic of immigrant groups to develop socio-cultural institutions, for example communities and community schools, aiming at the preservation of their personal, social and ethnic identities (Archer, 2000, p. 273). As chapter four demonstrated, Greek communities which were developed in the UK at least in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, attempted to create and sustain the cultural bonds of ethnic minorities with the mainland country. The data reveal, as will be explained in the section below, that this practice continues until today.

Greek communities were considered by participants as a space for socialisation of the Greek community, as they encounter other members of

the Greek community. This can lead to creating close bonds between community members, which was considered as one of the aims for the establishment of communities. As a 16-year-old student of Greek School B commented:

*"[...] you become more of a family in the community which is nice, is really nice to be brought up so close"* (App. 6, Students' Interview no. 4).

Based on information retrieved from the Greek Schools websites, all case study schools include a school committee (Greek Schools A, B, C, D websites). A member of the school committee of Greek School B (Former Student-b), explained in his interview that, being or feeling as being part of the Greek community, can be a reason for someone to be an active member of the school committee:

*"I feel that I am a member of the Greek community and that's why I am part of the school committee"* (App. 6, Students' Interview 2).

As he continues explaining in his interview, he is responsible for school's maintenance and generally for the normal operation of the school's building in order to provide an effective learning environment (App. 6, Students' Interview 2). This example shows the efforts of part of the community to provide and sustain learning for the children in the community.

Former students who attended Greek school B, family and relatives who were or are active members in the Greek community, seem to have a contributive role in influencing their children to become active members of the Greek community. Being former students at the Greek supplementary school and living in the context of the Greek community, seems to influence their decision to become members of the school committee and active members of the Greek community.

This continues to exist not only for former students, but also for students of younger generations. More particularly, Former Student-d, a third generation

former student of Greek school B (App. 3, Table no. 5), joined the school committee as a result of his interaction with the community and the Greek school. This provides the opportunity of examining how the characteristics of the Greek community are experienced and considered by its new members. As he explains:

*[...] so going to Greek school and learning and being brought up in that kind of environment, makes me want to be more involved and help the Greek community more than I used to, by joining that committee [...]* (App. No. 6, Students' Interview 6).

The efforts and desire to continue the function of the community for cultural preservation is also indicated by the former students' positive responses that they would advise others to register their child at the Greek school (App. 3, Table no. 31). This can be related to the aims of the Greek community which involve the preservation and perpetuation of the common cultural values to solidify the uniqueness of the ethnic group (Kelly, 2003). These aims are encouraged by the particularly strong relationship of Greek identity to 'genos' or a strong sense of identity, which the supplementary schools aim to build and preserve. However, Archer (2012, p. 4-5) argues that recent cultural and social changes and resulting morphogenetic processes of structure and agency, call for a reproduction and revisiting of these aims. Certain social and moral values and elements of the social structure though, appear to have remained unchanged through the time and still affect the process of identity construction especially for ethnic migrants. The next section explores the role of the Greek Orthodox Church and religion in the development of students' identities, and more particularly their ethnic identities.

## **2.2. Religion and ethnic identity**

Older research and chapter four have revealed that Orthodox Christianity, as well as attending Greek religious and socialising events, are considered by

Greek-Cypriot migrants as characteristic elements of the Greek identity (Gardner-Chloros et al, 2005). Both teachers and students identified and commented on the connective element of the Greek community and the church, which as acts of imagination, are claimed to enhance the sense of 'belonging' in the Greek community.

Based on the participants' interview responses, the church is considered as a meeting point for the members of the community and their relatives. This was also pointed out in Evergeti's (2006) research, in which the Greek Orthodox Church was perceived as a social place for interaction and networking. As was discussed in the previous section, not only the church, but also the community is perceived as a place of interaction between its members and a way for its members to become connected. A teacher in Greek School D (Teacher-a), explained this by pointing out the fact that each Greek community has a church, a point which was also stressed in the chapter 4. She also claimed that the church is particularly important for immigrants, even if not all of them are believers. She uses a metaphor to describe the role of the church as an '*umbrella of protection*', possibly implying that the church is perceived as a means of binding the members of the community and protect them against possible external 'threats' to its homogeneity:

*"When you live abroad, usually yes the church is that which will connect people. Throughout all these years which I live here and I look closer at some things, as an observer, you can see a Greek community where there is a church, no matter if people are believers or not [...] (The church) is an umbrella of protection, a binding connection (connective element)" (App. No. 4, Teachers' Interview No. 1).*

The above teacher's response represents the common wish and desire of Greek and Greek-Cypriot immigrants to form communities as a means of creating bonds with each other to act as a shield of protection against processes of assimilation. As was made clear in the preceding chapter, since at least the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Greek Orthodox Church has made a vital contribution into Greek-Cypriot migrants' efforts at constructing and



maintaining their identity, culture and heritage (Habibis, 1988; Taylor, 1988, p. 80). Orthodox Christianity was, and still is, an integral part of Greek identification (Millas, 2008).

A teacher and music teacher in Greek School B (Teacher-d), explained this role of the church in the development of Greek immigrant students' identities. According to her view, attending the Greek community church regularly, is a contributing factor for developing student's identities. As she asserted:

*"I think it (the development of students' identities) depends on the family, but also the religious aspect of Hellenism, of the Cypriot community, for example if the children go to the church every Sunday or sometimes, this definitely helps in developing their personality and character..."* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview No. 5).

The following example illustrates how the involvement in the church influences how people consider their identities in relation to others. The family of Former Student-d, and more particularly his grandparents and his father, were involved in the Greek community and the church committee. Members of school committee are also members of the clergy and the church committee, for example Former Student-c and Former Student-d. This shows the desire of the community members in participating in community's practices and cultural practices. Former Student-d was brought up with learning the spiritual content and practices of Christianity, as he gradually became a chanter in the church. His attachment and love towards the Greek Church, were compared to other children of his age, who presumably, are not children of immigrants (App. 6, Students' Interview no. 6). This was a contributing factor in making him feel special and different, compared to other 'ordinary' children, something that contributed, as he claimed, in developing his ethnic identity. As he argued:

*"... so obviously that developed my learning a lot about the laws (of Christianity), that you must love everything in terms of the church, probably*

*more than an ordinary child because I used to have that experience in the ιερό (= shrine) ..."* (App. 6, Students' Interview no. 6).

Adopting Greek ethnic and cultural values was considered as an element of differentiation and distinctiveness, not only recently, but also from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when Greekness was identified with Orthodox Christianity (Zambeta, 2000, p. 148). This is further elaborated in the view of a teacher in Greek School D (Teacher-a) that orthodox christianity is a fundamental characteristic of Greek culture. Interestingly, this teacher thought that this association would continue to exist, despite the changing religious beliefs of the members of the Greek community:

*"[...] in the community certainly, the religious feeling and faith are expressed completely differently for each person, but there is, at the same time, the common expression of the religious feeling which is found in the church, in the honour for the icon, the cross. All these are integral elements of our civilization, no matter how each one of us experience faith, if someone is atheist or Buddhist within the Greek community [...]"* (App. No. 4, Teachers' Interview No. 1).

The above teacher has been a teacher in the Greek School D for more than six years (App. 3, Table no. 4), and so she was able to observe the connection of the community with religion. Her views disclosed the centrality of the church on the one hand, while at the same time they reveal that each person experience faith in a different manner. This statement rather acknowledges that the community members undergo a process of change based on their distinctive personal identities, their concerns, commitments and experiences, which render the community diverse.

The above findings reveal how the interconnection between Greek ethnic identity and religion is a characteristic element of ethnic identities. However, they also indicate that the community and its members undergo processes of change, based on which the close bonds of Greekness, or being considered a member of the Greek community with Orthodox religion, may not be so tight

as the time progress. The church for a Greek community may also serve social and natural purposes for meeting and gathering, as in Evergeti's research, rather than solely for spiritual/religious purposes.

These findings lead in investigating how notions and representations of culture and identity influence students' perceptions of their Greek School, as well as cultural practices in these institutions. As people's backgrounds and 'histories' are the basis for developing identities, these, in turn, influence the process of learning cultural information (Quintero, 2009, p. 75). The next section examines how Greek students' personal and social 'histories' developed within their family context, can also form part of students' construction of their ethnic identities.

### **2.3. The role of family in students' construction of their identities**

The experiences that students receive from their family, appear to be a significant factor for the development of their identities. A teacher in Greek School D (Teacher-a), shed light on how family influences the development of Greek immigrant students' identities. More specifically, and for this teacher at least, the Greek immigrants feel so attached to their native country, that their 'pathos' and their nostalgia for their homeland is 'delivered' to their children and grandchildren. She explains how their 'pathos' is prevailing over 'logos':

*"[...] these people, intrinsically experience their binding with their homeland, with history, with tradition, so much, so much (she stressed these words while she was talking), that they have transferred that to their children and grandchildren" (App. No. 4, Teachers' Interview No. 1).*

Student-e and Former Student-d, two third generation students from parents of Cypriot origin (App. 3, Table no. 5), are examples of how family influences the development of their ethnic identities. Student-e explained that her family, and particularly her mother, influenced her view of how she considers her ethnic identity. Her mother explained to her that even though she was born in UK, her

origin is Greek and so she should consider herself as Greek-Cypriot. The role of Greek-Cypriot migrant mothers in 'transmitting' ethnic and cultural values to their children, was particularly prominent during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Anthias, 1992, p. 91) and appears to continue at some extent in the present. The student explained how her family and her socialisation in the Greek community influenced the development of her identity:

*"Obviously, I knew I was Greek when I grew up, because they were speaking Greek to me all the time, and then when I started going to Greek school, I think I understood more of what was really about, it was about learning your tradition, your past, I may not live in Cyprus, but we are still Greeks, we are part of a bigger picture..."* (App. 6, Students' Interview no. 4).

The above student's response on her identity, and especially the way she positions herself as part of Greece and Greek culture, reminds us of poststructuralists' claims that a part of social agents act from a certain ethnic position, are part of a nation state and are guided by certain renditions of culture and heritage. Ethnic identities that are characterised as peripheral and marginalised aim to condition ethnic and cultural characteristics with the purpose to overcome assimilatory processes (Hall, 1995).

Former Student-d, is an example of a male, third generation former student and current member of the Greek community and school B. He stressed the influence of the upbringing of his family as influential in the development of his identity. As he said:

*"I would say (I feel) Greek-Cypriot definitely, because I've been brought up in that way, I've been brought up in Britain and you've been brought up learning their history and on that aspect fair enough, but also, your family is Greek and you've been brought up in that manner ..."* (App. 6, Students' Interview 6).

Former Student-d feels certain about his Greek-Cypriot identity, in contrast to Student-d who appears to be negotiating her identity, influenced by both Greek and British way of life, as explained in section A of this chapter. His

identity was developed as a result of his Greek upbringing, even though he was brought up in Britain and learned its history too (App. 6, Students' Interview no. 6). Archer (2000, p. 261) argues that young people's identities are conditioned towards particular role arrays. The identity of Former Student-d, was more influenced by his family upbringing and his social role within the community. Greek supplementary schools, continued this work of preservation and empowering of ethnic identities for over fifty years, even though processes of change rather question whether they will continue to so do in the future.

Both Student-d and Former Student-d explained their preference for listening to Greek songs by sharing their personal experiences and how family influenced those. Student-d used to listen to modern and traditional music in the car since she was five years old and that helped her in learning many Greek words (App. No. 6, Students' Interview no. 3). Former Student-d had shared a similar experience but with different feelings and reactions towards it. He did not enjoy listening to Greek music in his mother's car, because as he explained, the music was not selected by him. He reacted intensely towards this situation, he became *'really rebellious'* and *'that put him off'*, as he commented. Nevertheless, when he listens to a song in Cyprus, he then tries to search it on the internet to find more about the particular artist (App. 6, Students' Interview 6).

Former Student-d is an example of how students react when parents force them to do things they do not wish and shows how this affects their motivation and the development of their identity. As he explained, he was more motivated to search and select the music he enjoyed by himself, without being forced by his parents. This is what he enjoyed and what "intrigued" him more, as he commented. His wish is in accordance with Kolb's experiential learning in which learners can actively decide upon their actions through experimentation and reflection (Kolb, 1984; Piaget, 1970). Archer's theory on identity development is also based on personal choices and a process of reflection (Archer, 2000).

The significance, according to the teachers' views, of the role of the family in developing Greek immigrant students' identities, is also pointed out by the head teacher of the Greek School B. As the head teacher claimed, the role of the family is to continue the role of the Greek school regarding the 'preservation' of the Greek culture at home. As she maintained, practicing Greek cultural traditions at home, is a form of identification. This is how, as she continues, ethnic identities can be 'preserved':

*"Do they want to leave all this process of learning and preservation to the school or have they started or they have never stopped to talk, discuss (about tradition) in their house, to follow the customs, traditions... hemm ... to have their national identity in the house first of all..."* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 3).

She then continued by supporting that family is the most significant factor in developing students' identity, with the Greek school and the church as the second most important factors. Both Former Student-d and Student-e come from a Cypriot background and it has already been examined how Greek-Cypriot community was characterised as 'moral' and 'strict' (Constantinides, 1977, p. 297). The responses discussed above are representative of the impact of the traditional, nuclear family on the development of Greek immigrant students' ethnic identities. Both teachers and students agreed on and revealed the impact of family upbringing and 'transmitting' cultural values in developing students' identities.

A female student in Greek School B discussed the importance of Greek culture in understanding past and the family's history. She gradually developed a 'love' towards 'being Greek', because *"it's in your blood"*, as she said. She used this metaphor to imply that ethnicity is innate, and is given by birth. However, as she continues, she used to *"hate"* Greek traditional celebrations and festivals but she gradually used to *"love"* this Greek part her (App. No. 6, Students' Interview no. 4). This shows that identities are gradually developed and are not given 'by birth', but are affected by various exogenous social factors, ideas and values (Archer, 2000, p. 261).

The next section proceeds to examine how the Greek supplementary school, its social positioning, its mission and teaching practices affect students' construction of identities, and how these in turn are affected by wider ideas of the macro level.

### **3. Greek supplementary schools and the development of students' identities**

#### **3.1. Students' attitudes and perceptions on their Greek supplementary school**

This section provides data regarding former and current students' attitudes and perceptions regarding their Greek school. Former students' data was also retrieved from Greek School B due to its longevity and thus provides useful data on teaching practices and attitudes of the past.

The majority of students who attended the school in the past responded that they liked Greek school when they used to attend it. However, when former students were asked to provide the reasons they attended Greek school, only one student responded that he/she attended Greek school because they liked it, while some others thought that it was boring and that they did not like it (App. 3, Table Nos. 28, 29).

Students' attitudes on their Greek school do not seem to have changed a lot since then. While the majority of the current students answered that they like attending Greek school, the results indicating that only six students aged 13-17 attend Greek school because they like it, and ten students because it is interesting, is a matter of concern for schools and warrants further investigation. Indeed, five students answered that attending Greek school is boring, while five students responded that they do not like it (App. 3, Bar chart no. 2). These results rather suggest that both outer and inner school factors play their own role in students' motivation, as well as wider structural changes.

All 1<sup>st</sup> generation students, who have moved from Greece or Cyprus to UK during the last few years, responded that they like attending their Greek supplementary school (Students' Questionnaire results). The majority of the 1<sup>st</sup> generation students are from Greek School C and A. As was already pointed out in chapter 5 section 1.3, the majority of students' parents of Greek School C, are of Greek origin (App. 3, Table nos. 8, 9,10). This students' background information can be related and can help to explain students' positive attitudes towards their Greek school in Greek School C. Their experience of living and being educated in Greece, influenced their perceptions on Greek culture and attending a Greek school in the UK, can be considered as a connection to their background. Their positive attitudes towards their school can also be explained by the use of more active, child-centred activities employed in Greek School C as discussed in chapter 5 section 1.3 and as will be explored in subsequent sections.

For both former and current students, Greek language learning was considered as the basic reason for attending their Greek supplementary school (App. 3, Table no. 29; App. 3, Bar chart no. 3). This can be related to Greek language being considered as a form of ethnic identification. This finding is also related to the domination of Greek language teaching over culture teaching, an issue which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7, Section 6. Only two former students appeared to be interested in learning about the Greek past and only one student to learn about the Greek culture (App. 3, Table no. 29). These results appear to still be in force today, as only four current students answered that they attend Greek school to learn about their past (App. 3, Bar chart no. 3). This finding does not appear to be in accordance with a part of the students' strong sense of ethnic identities, and rather suggests that the need for ethnic identification may not be so strong as the time progress.

Greek language learning seems to be the prevailing reason for attending Greek school for adult students as well, while none of the adult students attend



Greek school to learn about the Greek culture. Even though all adult students responded that they like attending Greek school, only three adult students responded that what they learned is interesting (App. 3, Table no. 30).

The reasons for adults to attend Greek school appear to be more practical, as some of the students indicated their intention of living in Greece and Cyprus in the future and to be able to communicate with their partner's relatives (App. 3, Table no. 30). Practical needs appear to urge current students to attend Greek school, as ten students responded that they attend Greek school because they need it, and as the responses revealed, they need it for entry to universities (App. 3, Bar chart no. 3).

The majority of former students were attending Greek supplementary school because they were forced by their parents, an answer which contradicts their attitudes regarding how they considered their Greek school in the past and in fact corresponds with some of their responses that the Greek school was boring (App. 3, Table nos. 28, 29). A second generation current member of the school committee of Greek School B (Former Student-b), disclosed the dilemma in which students of second generation might have been, or current students may still be, of attending Greek school or be engaged in activities as the rest of their peers. His efforts to 'fit' into the English culture were restricted by his parents, as they forced him to attend the Greek supplementary school. This shows how immigrant students' identity is in constant negotiation. As he confessed:

*"I was divided: being here or outside, playing with my friends. I was trying to fit into English culture, but my parents were pushy"* (App. 6, Students' Interview 2).

This former student's response reveals the ideas which were widespread in documents of the 1960s-1970s, and presented migrants' children as caught in between their parents' expectations and the expectations of the wider society (Watson, 1977, p.3). The parents' 'pushing' their children to attend Greek school can be explained by the concerns and efforts of the Greek community,

and particularly the intrinsic wish of first generation migrants from Cyprus (as the parents of this former student) to transfer ethnic ideals to their children to avoid assimilation processes which were in effect after the 1960s (Grosvenor, 1997; CIAC, 1964; Constantinides, 1977, p. 284). Former Student-b, due to his personal experience, did not force his children to attend Greek school but let them decide by themselves if they wanted to attend (App. 6, Students' Interview no. 2). This provides the children with the freedom of choice to select for themselves and develop their identities. While this might mean that the moral compulsion of parents to send their children to school is weakening, the results from current students' responses reveal that nearly one third of the current students appear to be forced by their family environment to attend Greek schools (App. 3, Bar chart no. 3). This indicates that the pressure of students to conform to social and cultural values might still remain strong and affect students' perceptions of their Greek school.

Former students were also asked about their feelings for the Greek school at the time of research. Most of the former students responded that Greek school was useful and all former students responded that they would advise others to attend the Greek school (App. 3, Table no. 31). Former students have changed their perception regarding Greek supplementary school, as the time progressed. For example Former Student-d, a student who graduated from Greek School B recently, despite the fact that he considered the Greek school boring when he attended, he now appears to have a different perspective, because the Greek school had an impact on his actions today. As he explained:

*"[...] back then fair enough you might not understand how important it was but now, you realize it was of major importance, a massive impact of what you do today"* (App. 6, Students' Interview 6).

These attitudes and perceptions of former students show that people's attitudes may change through a process of re-consideration of their concerns and commitments and a reflection of their social roles (Archer, 2000: 261). The

current involvement of Former Student d in the community and the church led him think about how Greek school was a means to rethink about his social position now as an active member of the Greek community.

### **3.2. Greek supplementary schools and students' socialisation**

Greek supplementary schools, according to the curriculum for supplementary education, are cultural centres who play an important social role. This is because they are claimed to strengthen and preserve the bonds between the people of diaspora, as well as with Greece and Cyprus (CEM, 2015). Despite their social role being associated with forming and preserving strong ethnic bonds, the findings of this research suggest that attending Greek supplementary schools, is considered to be a means for students' socialisation. The socialising factor of Greek supplementary schools appears to be the second most popular reason for students to attend these schools, as half of the students replied that they attend Greek school to '*hang out with their friends*' (App. 3, Bar chart 3). This was also a finding of Karatzia-Stavlioti and Louka-Crann (1999) in their research in Greek supplementary schools in the UK. The socializing part of the Greek school, does not appear to be a reason for attending Greek school for former students, compared to current students (App. 3, Bar chart 3; Table no. 29). This rather indicates that people's perceptions change over time, as well as their concerns and commitments (Archer, 2000).

Two 16-17 years old female students of Greek School B (Student-e and Student-d), are indicative of the impact of Greek supplementary schools on the development of students' identities. Student-e explained that she liked attending Greek school, because it helped her 'discover' her identity, which is specifically denoted by the phrase '*who I am*'. She was also able to communicate with her grandparents, who she names using the corresponding

Greek words, something that also reveals a sense of affinity and attachment with them:

*"[...] but I do love Greek school because it helped me realise who I am, to be able to understand my παππού [pappou] (=grandfather), my γιαγιά [giagia] (= grandmother), I do like it ..."* (App. 6, Students' Interview no. 4).

Student-d also stressed the socializing aspect of supplementary school as the main reason for attending Greek school. She felt that when she was attending Greek school, she was connected with the 'Greek part' of her identity, which suggests how Greek supplementary school has a decisive impact on students' development of their social identity:

*"I like the socializing part of it, to meet with your friends from Greece, because where we live there are not many Greeks. So when I come here I like to be connected with that part of me"* (App. 6, Students' Interview no. 3).

The effect of Greek supplementary schools on students' socialisation and the positive impact of this on students' motivation was also revealed in older research in Greek supplementary schools (Karadjia-Stavlioti and Louka-Crann, 1999; Sideropoulou and Danielidou, 2004). Nonetheless, not only students but also teachers have pointed out the socialising aspect of Greek supplementary schools. A teacher in Greek School D (Teacher-e), emphasised the socializing aspect of supplementary schools and students' ability to share similar experiences with their friends and relatives, when attending their Greek school:

*"I think that a community school is very important because it doesn't only offer the teaching of the language... but it also offers the social life, the socialisation of the children, to come and learn about the culture and come closer to their relatives, to meet with children who have the same experiences as them, and to see that they are not alone..."* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview No. 6).

Students' socialisation and meeting with their friends is considered as one of the positive elements of the Greek school, which urges students to attend these institutions. This can be also a means of meeting and feeling closer with

other Greek origin students, something though, that can also be perceived as a way of re-affirming and strengthening their ethnic identities, with a common sense of culture based on a particular and valorised sense of ethnic origin. The next section examines how schools can be sites of students' construction of their social and ethnic identities through the teaching of cultural practices.

### **3.3. Greek society, values and cultural practices**

As was discussed in the previous sections, the construction of identities is influenced by the social context and social interactions. The data suggest that the way students in Greek supplementary schools treat and perceive others in their social world is partly driven by values and characteristics of the Greek society. A GCE A level student in Greek School B (Student-e), born and grown up in a pluralistic environment, provides two examples of how Greek values and norms had an effect on people in the past, as well as in the present. Recalling what she learned during her GCE A level, she was struck by how strict the Greek society was and how its values affected those who were viewed as different and did not follow the Greek 'ideals' and values. She recalled the example of a well-known Greek poet, Constantinos Kavafis, who due to the fact that he was perceived as homosexual, he met the prejudice of the Greek society and was not widely accepted (App. 6, Students' Interview no. 4).

Despite the fact that these values or characteristics, influenced peoples' views, actions and their identity in the past, certain values and norms, seem to continue to exist today. The student above (Student-e), taking advantage of the above example with Kavafis, she continues by explaining that the situation has not been changed or improved since then and shows how 'close' and 'strict' the Greek society still is today. Generally, Greek-Cypriot community was characterised as a 'moral community' and has constructed itself with well-established, primordial norms and social values existing in the Greek society (Constantinides, 1977, p. 297) and the moral values of the Orthodox Church (Zambeta, 2000; Efstathiou et al, 2008). More particularly, Student-e explained

this with the example that people within the Greek community prefer marriages with other Greeks or Cypriots. As she claimed, Greek people are closer to you, implying that they are closer to the 'Greek mentality', a perception that was also pointed out by Constantinides (1977). This type of behaviour can be also related to the Greek community's wish for the preservation of the Greek culture to the following generations.

The following observation in Greek School A (App. 5, Observation no. 10) is an example of teaching cultural practices, in a way that shows that these undergo a process of change. I have observed the students' rehearsal of Greek School A final celebration, in which the theatrical play '*In the tavern*' was presented. Based on my personal knowledge, Greek school A at the end of each year organises a final school year celebration, during which a small play is presented by the students of the school. The play is usually written by the teachers of the school, who also prepare the stage scenery of the play and the costumes. This usually has a more light-hearted theme and is enriched with songs and dances from Greece and Cyprus. The final school's year celebration is an opportunity for the community members to get together and take messages from the play.

Based on information I received from the head teacher and teachers of the school, the theme of the play was discussed in the classroom before the rehearsals. The content of the theatrical play was indicative of the effect of the social values in the Greek society in the past. The theme was based on the social context of period of '50s-60s in Greece and the songs which students performed were Greek songs called 'rebetika', an urban popular type of song which appeared in Greece at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. One of the central scenes of the play portrays a couple with a Greek tavern man and his wife. The tavern man does all the chores in the tavern, wearing a characteristic woman's apron and a scarf on his head (Greek word: φακιόλι), while his wife is sitting outside, relaxed, taking care of her appearance, making fun of him. The tavern man feels ashamed for this and he does not wish other people to see him in this appearance. He characteristically says to his wife during that play

that *'if people see me like this they will throw tomatoes on me!'* (this is a way to ridicule someone for his actions).

Some of the values which were highlighted during this performance, were the inequality of men and women, the superiority of men and women's position in the Greek society. The central theme of the play was how people in the Greek-society take into consideration how other people will perceive or interpret their actions, which is shown in the phrase *'what will the people say?'*. This phrase invokes a sense of shame and the disciplinary effects of the Greek community morality. This social norm can also affect serious decisions they have to take.

The play portrayed roles of men and women in contrast to the normative perceptions of masculinisation and femininity to produce laughter. Roles which were once assigned to women in a patriarchal society (Anthias, 1992) were performed by men. This indicates that the roles of male, female, notions of shame and morality are in a process of change. It was already discussed in chapter four that Greek-Cypriot women's role within the Greek community was active and dynamic and that their social position has significantly changed (Constantinides, 1977). The sarcastic manner in which the Greek social values were presented in this play, led the members of the Greek community to evaluate and reflect dialogically on the existing notions of social identity. The school used a more interactive, dialogical way of teaching cultural practices, rather than the formal, didactic teaching process, usually used in these institutions. These reflective teaching practice rather questions and complicate the claims and efforts for preservation of cultural practices and identities in these institutions.

This section indicates that even though social values may still influence cultural practices and the way people in the community construct their identities, continuous social change, change in agents' social roles and position within the social structure, imposes that these identities undergo a process of reflection and continuous negotiation. This directly leads to a process of morphogenesis of identities within the context of late modernity.

### **3.4. Greek school and the construction of ethnic identities**

The need and desire for preservation and empowering of ethnic identities, is claimed to be essential in some of the teachers' and students' responses and in teaching practices. Indeed, the great majority of the teachers (16 of the teachers strongly agreed and 7 agreed out of 23 responses) showed a positive attitude on the necessity of teaching history and tradition (Teachers' Questionnaires, 2014-2015 and 2015-2016).

The head teacher of Greek School A, explained the reasons for which there is a need for preserving students' ethnic identities. For this head teacher, many students have difficulties in their self-identification, because they do not speak the Greek language at home, they do not participate to the divine liturgy regularly, or because they come from mixed marriages. All these, as she claimed, contribute in minimizing the '*Greek element*'. This is where, as she emphasises, the teaching of Greek history and tradition can influence the development of students' identities (App. 4, Teachers' Open Questionnaire No. 1). Similarly, the head teacher of Greek School B, who recently came from Cyprus to the UK to teach in Greek supplementary schools, uses a metaphor to explain the role of the Greek school:

*"[...] the way we want to present (the Greek school) is that it's a temple, let's say, of preservation of our culture"* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview No. 3).

The above claims reflect a common-sense idea that people from migrant communities, and perhaps especially the Greek community, have bonds of affection for their ethnic community, driven by their common experiences of marginalisation which unify them and provide a sense of solidarity among its members (Hall, 1994). These common experiences are those which urge them to build strong ethnic identities, which are conditioned through Greek supplementary education. Particularly in policies and documents for Greek supplementary education, Greek ethnic identity is presented as fragile and in need of protection (CEM, 2015). This wish and need for preserving and perpetuating 'Greekness' in the following generations of Greek immigrants in



the UK, is also reflected in students' responses. For example, a third generation student of British-Cypriot parents (Student-e), claimed that although her children will be born in the UK, they will still be Greek and that the Greek heritage will be 'transferred' to them. She continued by arguing that learning of Greek tradition can contribute in the perpetuation of the Greek elements in the following generations:

*"I think especially the heritage and tradition is important, without it, it stops the Greek thing going on"* (App. 6, Students' Interview no. 4).

These views essentialise the notion of culture and valorise Greek identity and ethnicity above all others. These claims can derive from a sense of pride for the Greek history and superiority of Greekness, which can act as elements of distinctiveness of the Greek nation. Similar claims can be traced in the curriculum for Greek supplementary education. As has been discussed, the general aim of teaching social subjects according to the curriculum, is for students to be able to identify with, and feel proud of their familial origins. The teaching of history, based on the curriculum, contributes in asserting the continuity of the Greek nation and the appreciation of Greece contribution in the development of European civilization. This appreciation of Greek culture, is claimed to contribute in empowering the sense of ethnic identification within the context of pluralism (CEM, 2015).

These notions of cultural superiority are reflected in teachers' and students' responses. As the head teacher of Greek School A claimed, teachers can contribute in '*transferring*' the love and pride for Greece to Greek immigrant students (App. No. 4, Teachers' Open Questionnaire No. 1). This love and pride for the home country can be seen deriving from a first-generation student of Greek School A, who has migrated to UK recently (Student-a). He responded that he feels proud of his past because of the impact of the ancient Greek civilization on the contemporary world and the future of the country (App. No. 6, Students' Open Quest. No.1). This student, grown up in Greece and attending Greek school there, is influenced by the notions of Greek civilisation

and its superiority is regards to others. Similarly to this student, a second generation former student (Former Student-b), argued that learning about Greek history, inculcates a sense a pride in being Greek. He found learning about Greek history inspirational and this made him want to achieve more in life (App. 6, Students' Interview no. 2). His feelings can be related to immigrants' direct experiences of discrimination and an attempt to distinguish themselves from others by assigning them a notion of superiority. This notion of feeling proud of the historical past is transferred in school practices and can be related with cultivating selective memories, through the practice of commemorations which focus on presenting a glorious past or marginalising other histories of equal importance (Mavroskoufis, 2012; Benton and Curtis, 2010).

However, these practices can lead to create students' preconceptions about the historical past. As a teacher of Greek School D supported (Teacher-a), teachers should not only focus on the positive or bright aspects of Greek culture or to keep silence on some aspects, but also inform students about the negative aspects or the mistakes which were made in order to avoid their repetition in the future (App. 4, Teachers' Interview No. 1). Similarly, a former student of Greek School B (Former Student-c), agreed and added that it is '*vital*' for the children to know about these, in order for them to understand Greece position in relation to other countries and Greece recent condition (App. 6, Students' Interview no. 5).

The claims on the necessity of the preservation of cultural values to condition imaginaries of ethnic superiority, are influenced by deeply rooted values, norms and ideas. In fact, the development of students' identities can also be affected by ideas regarding the privileged position and uninterrupted continuation of the Greek nation since antiquity, and the interrelation between Orthodox Christianity and ethnicity as presented in the Greek historiography (Millas, 2008; Leerseen, 2008:93). These claims appear to still influence students' understanding of the notion of ethnicity and ethnic identity, as well as their positioning within a continually changing world.

An observation in Greek School B, is an example of how Greek values can still influence perceptions of identities and teaching practices. The music teacher of the school taught a song “Ένα το Χελιδόνι” (A solitary swallow), written by the Greek poet O. Elytis in 1959. The poem is part of the poetic collection ‘Axion Esti’ (=Worthy it is) which is divided into three parts, the ‘Genesis’ (=Birth), Pathi (=the Passion, in ancient Greek the difficulties) and Doxastikon (=Gloria). This poetic collection led him to win the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1979 (Parker and Willhardt, 2000). The structure is figured based on Christian Passion and Resurrection and uncovers the Greek experience of Second World War and the process from its occupation (Pathi) to its freedom-resurrection (Doxastikon). A characteristic of Elytis poetry is that it connects Orthodox Christianity with the Greek element, asserting a continuity of the Greek element since antiquity (Savvides, 2000, p. 139). This is exemplified in the language he uses in this collection stemming from the Homeric and Byzantine times up to present (Parker and Willhardt, 2000, p.97). The ideas and values of his poetry cultivated the historical memory of Greeks, irrespective of their political ideologies (Vitti, 2000). ‘Axion Esti’ had managed to reach a wide range of audience with its musical composing by the well-known Greek composer Mikis Theodorakis in 1964 (Parker and Willhardt, 2000, p. 97). This poem is also taught in mainstream schools in Greece and Cyprus and is sang in national commemorations.

The poem ‘A Solitary Swallow’ belongs to the middle part of the collection - ‘Pathi’. This song was presented as part of the school’s celebration for the end of the school year, which had as a theme the anniversary of 90 years from the birth of the composer of the song Mikis Theodorakis (App. 5, Teachers’ Observation No. 1).

As the music teacher of the above observation (Teacher-d) explained in her interview the way she structures her music lessons is to divide them into the part where she teaches the content of the songs and the musical part, when she teaches the melody, lyrics and rhythm of the song. The teacher stressed that the content and the context of the song is interconnected with its melody and

its rhythm (App. No. 4, Teachers' Interview No. 5). She explained the learning process of teaching the songs in the Greek supplementary schools:

*"[...] It's really important for the children to understand the subject of what they are singing, so I always try to provide a historical background of the songs, which can be connected with a particular commemoration but also with a particular historical period. This can be done at the same time while I am trying to teach the rhythm of the music"* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview No. 5).

The music teacher has put this into practice in her lesson. The first part of the lesson was concerned with the contextualisation of the song. The teacher provided background information regarding the composer, the historical period and historical facts during which the poem was written, and how all these influence the analysis and interpretation of the poem. The students were very engaged during the provision of the context of the song and motivated to learn more information regarding the composer of the song and his life (App. 5, Teachers' Observation No. 1).

The teacher subsequently proceeded to the analysis and interpretation of the poem. As a music teacher herself, she searched for the interpretation of the poem to explain the lyrics to the students, in order for the students to understand the meaning of the song. As part of a participant observation, I helped her in explaining some of the verses and the meaning that the poet wanted to attribute to these. I explained to the students that the poet relates Greek freedom and metaphoric 'resurrection' with spring and the resurrection of Jesus Christ. The teacher stressed that this is the important meaning of the poem and explained that the composer wanted to deliver this message with the rhythm of the song, which reflects triumph and passion (App. 5, Teachers' Observation No. 1).

The observation of this music lesson demonstrates how certain representations and notions of Greek ethnicity are represented and reproduced throughout the time in social and educational settings, affecting the construction of ethnic identities. However, the teacher supported that children should also learn

about the history of other countries. This can help them identify and position themselves in relation to others especially in a context of pluralism, as England. Through a cross-cultural interaction, students can learn to accept the different and develop a positive stance towards pluralism (Chourdakis, 2001:2). These views show that there is also a process of change in the wider context and structure. This is how the music teacher explained the impact of learning about the history of Greece and of other countries on students' development of their identities:

*"Generally, history and tradition of any country is important and it's certainly very important to learn about the history of Cyprus and Greece, because this is their origin, but learning about the history of Italy, France, is of the same importance [...] but when learning about who we are, can also help us appreciate the other. So in a country as England, I think it's important for these particular children to have this kind of knowledge"* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview No. 5).

Similarly, a teacher of Greek School D (Teacher-e), added that learning history is a means for students to search for their past, their 'roots', to position themselves within the present pluralistic context and develop their identities. She considers learning about history and tradition, as a means of reflection, revision and negotiation of students' ethnic identities. When she is teaching about Greek traditions, she encourages students to think critically about the past and to reflect and discuss people's actions (App. 4, Teachers' Interview No. 6). Turning to the past to develop new identities, can be considered as a response to experiences of alienation and prejudice faced by minority groups (Myers, 2015). They are then thinking and re-thinking about themselves through a process of morphogenesis, which result in developing their identities. This is how the teacher explained this process of students' morphogenesis:

*"Yes, all these are part of the wider tradition, the cultural tradition, historical tradition, so by knowing that ..., they can understand things about themselves, about their ancestors, they understand things about people in general, so they*

*are thinking about who they are, they are thinking and rethinking about themselves, they negotiate that ..."* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview No. 6).

Both the above two teachers (Teacher-d and Teacher-e) lived and studied in the UK for many years and this appears to have differentiated their perceptions on teaching culture and how this can influence the negotiation of students' identities. Students' morphogenesis can be reflected in students' responses regarding their ethnic identities. A former student of Greek School C, from Greek immigrant parents (Former Student-a), explained that attending Greek supplementary school, helped him develop his identity. He could not identify himself as only Greek or only British, because as he confessed, he felt that he is both. This shows that throughout all the years he was attending Greek school he went through a process of reflecting upon his emotions and thoughts to discover his identity (App. 6, Students' Interview no. 1).

Similarly, a female student of Greek School D, born in the UK with Cypriot origin (Student-c), is undergoing a process of negotiating and reflecting on her identity. As she explained, learning history and tradition made her think about her '*Greek roots and past*' and the changes which have been implemented since then. Her view of how learning about Greek history and tradition helped her develop her identity is important in this research, since she realised that changes in the social context can influence the development of her identity (App. 6, Students' Open Quest. No. 3).

This section examined how the socialisation of ethnic minority students in communities, where the notion of forming tight bonds and connection among its members is prevalent, and being brought up in a moral environment of cultural norms and values existing in the community and the church influences the development of their social identities. This social context influences and conditions students' perceptions of their Greek school, which itself reproduces or challenges certain notions of cultural and social values, imposing the question whether these notions and ideas will continue to be so essential in forming students' identities in the context of diaspora.

### **3.5. Students' preferences and their engagement in extra-curricular activities**

The development of students' identities, can also be explained as the outcome of personal preferences and stimuli they receive from their participation in extra-curricular activities. The data on students' rating of their preference regarding extra-curricular activities suggest that most of the students enjoy attending community festivals (App. 3, bar chart no. 1). More particularly, a student of Greek School B explained that she enjoyed the social part of attending community festivals. As she explained, this is an opportunity to meet with children from other Greek community schools (App. 6, Students' Interview no. 4).

The following most popular responses suggest that students were more interested in listening to Greek modern and traditional music with almost the same rate of preference. On the contrary, the extra-curricular activities which students appear to be less excited about according to the questionnaires, is reading Greek books (App. 3, Bar Chart no. 1). However, a first generation student of Greek School A, explained that Greek literature allows him to discover his past and it enlivens Greek history in front of his eyes (App. 6, Students' Open Questionnaire No. 1).

Contrary to students aged 13-18 years old, adult students appeared to have a more neutral attitude towards being engaged in activities related to Greek culture. The only extra-curricular activity which they appeared to be engaged in is reading Greek books, as this can be related to their experiences at Greek school (App. 3, Table no. 27). As all adult students do not have a Greek or Cypriot origin, and they attend Greek school mainly for practical reasons, they do not have a direct experience with Greek culture or background compared to the other students attending these schools. This shows how experiences and stimuli from the micro-context can influence people's perception of culture and the construction of personal identities.

Attending extra-curricular activities was also perceived by teachers and students as a means of socialisation, for developing students' social identities and a way of exploring and experiencing their past. A teacher in Greek School D (Teacher-e), pointed out the role of attending extra-curricular activities and festivals in developing students' historical consciousness, as they relate what they see at the museum with their past and their origin. They also get socialised with other Greek immigrant children from other communities and they realise that *"they are not alone"*. By saying that, the teacher implied that they will share their experiences as immigrant children of Greek and Cypriot origin, which contributes in binding different communities. This also contributes in positioning themselves and develop their identities. As she explained:

*"They think about themselves again and the activities which they do at festivals, at the museums, all these contribute in creating a meaning for their life, they give meaning to their life"* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview No. 6).

### **Summary:**

In a context of significant socio-political changes, forces from the meso and the wider macro context influence the construction or the preservation of ethnic minority identities. Throughout the discussion of the findings, there were clearly two expositions of the Greek culture and its relation to the construction of identities. The first one presents a wish and desire to preserve the culture and ethnic minority identities, while the second one argues for a more dialogic approach to culture, in which students living in a pluralistic, changing context, have the opportunity to critically reflect on and negotiate their identities.

The findings also suggest that students' ethnic identification is linked and interconnected with how they perceive and develop their personal and social identities. The way that students consider and develop their identities, personal, social and ethnic, is influenced by their relation to their macro and meso-



context, their interaction with the Greek culture, as well as the Greek community, the Orthodox Church and the notions of morality attached to them.

The next chapter examines and discusses how the notions of culture and identity examined in this section influence current pedagogic practices and pedagogy in these institutions. It examines whether in a world that is changing, some pedagogic practices of the past changed or remain the same, influencing students' motivation and the construction of their identities.

## **Chapter 7**

### **History and heritage pedagogy in Greek Supplementary schools and students' identities**

The previous chapter has drawn on data from this doctoral research to examine how students' identities are developed in the micro, meso and macro level. The findings revealed two expositions of ethnicity, one that aims at retaining and preserving certain pre-determined ideas on Greek ethnicity and identity and the other which negotiates identity, based on current processes of social change. This chapter proceeds to examine and discuss how the micro level - teaching methods, activities and content - are influenced by certain notions of culture and identity, as well as acts of imagination that may condition and reproduce teaching practices of the past.

The examination of history pedagogy in Greek supplementary schools draws retrospectively on data regarding past practices in these institutions, to discuss whether current teaching practices condition or reproduce practices and norms of the past. It draws on data from both phases of the research to examine whether and how students' motivation and engagement is influenced by structural factors, such as students' background, operational and resourcing issues and current changes in migration processes. The chapter also aims to examine how history content and teaching practices contribute in establishing certain ideas on ethnicity and identity. By drawing on these data, the chapter aims to examine whether certain educational policies need to be readjusted in order to be more appropriate for the continuous, fluid processes of late modernity.

## **A. The pedagogy of history and heritage in Greek supplementary schools**

### **1. Have teaching practices changed?**

The investigation of history pedagogy in Greek supplementary schools begins by shedding light into attitudes and perceptions regarding past teaching practices from students who attended Greek School B in the past. As this school is established for more than half a century, it can provide enlightening data of teaching practices in the past which can be compared with current practices.

Older pedagogic practices are discussed through the experiences of three former students who attended Greek supplementary schools in three different periods and are current members of the School committee of Greek School B (Former Student-b, Former Student-c and Former Student-d) (App. 3, Table no. 5). Former students' attitudes and perceptions, reveal how pedagogy in these institutions in the past was based on a formal, didactic approach. According to their experiences, learning activities were based on writing, spellings and copying from the blackboard. The main resources teachers used were books (App. 6, Students' Interview 5; Students' Interview 2). Former Student-c, who attended Greek School B during the 1960s-1970s commented that:

*"[...] we did reading, spellings, copying texts, we always had a text which we had to copy, we always had spellings with test, every week the teacher was reading the piece and you had to write it, we were doing about history, the songs, dances, we didn't do projects I think, the projects were about making a map, but we didn't have computers, things like that [...]"* (App. 6, Students' Interview 5).

Former Student-b, who attended a Greek supplementary school in the 1980s, added that this rendered learning 'boring', because as he explained, teachers back then did not have the sufficient knowledge about teaching methods and pedagogy. As he explained:

*"Teachers used to stand there and we were listening to whatever they said"*  
(App. 6, Students' Interview 2).

The above views indicate that students were passive listeners and learners in the classroom, in which the instructional, 'chalk and talk' method of instruction prevailed. These teaching approaches appeared to be in practice in Greek supplementary schools twenty–thirty years go. This teacher-centred pedagogy was indicated in older research in mainstream schools in Greece (Veikou et al, 2007 p. 10; Mavroskoufis, 2007; Paraskevas et al, 2010). This pedagogy reflects teachers' authority to deliver knowledge and make decisions on students' learning. As Papatheodorou (2007) pointed out from her research in Greek supplementary schools, these formal and didactic teaching methods are not relevant to students' learning experiences and needs. The unsuitability of the teaching methods and resources, were also considered as factors for students' demotivation in older research in Greek supplementary schools (Karadjia-Stavlioti and Louka-Crann, 1999; Constantinides and Tsimpos, 1999; Spyridakis and Konstantakou, 1999).

While political and intellectual change in England led to the transformation of traditional teaching approaches to more progressive ones in formal state classrooms (Cannadine et al, 2011), this change does not appear to have encroached into the Greek supplementary schooling. Indeed, a didactic style of teaching appears to have remained in practice well after the 1960s and into the last decade. This is reflected in students' responses who were taught in Greek supplementary schools during the last ten years. Indicative examples are a former student of Greek School B (Former Student-d) and a current student of the same school (Student-e), who confessed with disappointment that creative activities were not used in teaching (App. 6, Students' Interview no. 4; Students' Interview no. 6). Former Student-d, who attended Greek School B more recently, explained that the resources which were used were basically books and textbooks. He recalled that:

*"[...] I don't remember doing any colouring or ... we didn't have videos, maybe once in a year we used to have a video and that was probably in the church [...] it was more writing and sticking to the books [...]" "We used to watch documentaries, I remember once we watched the Odyssey we learned about that times, but mostly they used textbooks" (App. 6, Students' Interview 6).*

He also raised the aspect of the inadequacy of teaching facilities. As he explained, compared to the time when he used to be a student in the school, the children who are currently attending Greek school have more teaching facilities and resources. He argued that if he was attending Greek school now, he *"would have been more motivated, intrigued to learn"* (App. 6, Students' Interview 6). This is partly because of the facilities which are currently provided in the schools and partly because of the more active learning and teaching strategies that are sometimes now employed. He reflected on his learning experience by commenting that:

*"I don't know what it is now but I do know that the kids have these facilities, the computers, I think it would have made an impact on me I suppose" (App. 6, Students' Interview 6).*

The data from attitudes and perceptions of former students suggest that pedagogic approaches in Greek supplementary schools in the past were based on a more instructional, didactic approach, in which students were passive and not active learners (Veikou et al, 2007; Mavroskoufis, 2007). The lack of sufficient and appropriate resources intensified this issue. The next section examines whether these teaching practices have changed since then and how these may affect students' motivation and engagement.

## **2. Factors affecting students' motivation and engagement**

This section examines the factors which can influence pedagogic practices in Greek supplementary schools and students' engagement and motivation in the learning process. It begins with the examination of how factors related to the operation of the schools, resourcing, teachers' guidance, as well as

students' background can influence students' learning and motivation. It then proceeds with the examination of deeper factors influencing students' motivation and engagement in the learning process, such as teaching methods and activities, educational policies, as well as norms and particular notions of ethnicity, which affect teaching practices and the construction of learners' identities.

## **2.1. Students' background and their motivation**

Students' background information, as provided in chapter 5, section B.1, can be used in order to uncover and understand additional underlying reasons to explain students' engagement and motivation. Teachers appeared to be in a dilemma when they were asked about whether students' generation affect their motivation and engagement, while the number of teachers who had a neutral stance, did not have difference from the number of teachers who agreed with this statement (App. 3, Table no. 56)

This dilemma regarding the effect of students' generation on their motivation is also reflected and justified on teachers' responses in the interviews. Despite the fact that pedagogic practices appear to be changing, teachers supported that as the generations progress, the interest of the children is reducing. A teacher in Greek School B born in Cyprus (Teacher-d), attempted to attribute this to the fact that the memories, especially for the younger students, are not '*alive*', as she said. This can be connected with the experiences connected with the recent historical facts in Greece and Cyprus which may have an impact on students' motivation to learn (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 5). The head teacher of Greek School D also born in Cyprus, is one of the teachers who supports that first-generation students who have recently migrated to UK have more interest and motivation than the others. She justified this, by explaining that these children are "*closer to the country and the culture*", and that this proximity makes it easier to appreciate and understand the cultural practices examined in school (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 8).

A teacher in Greek School C, who grew up in Greece and experienced the celebrations and commemorations in Greece (Teacher-c), mentioned an example about how students' experiences and particularly of the 1<sup>st</sup> generation students who have migrated to UK recently affects their motivation. She commented that the students who attended Greek commemorations and celebrations in Greece, will have different attitudes and behaviours compared to those students who have not experienced it. As she explained:

*"... but it's very different from what I experienced in my school, when we were preparing for celebrations, we were learning poems, even if the child learns the poems, he cannot understand the background (of the poem), so ... it's difficult and this is the reason why we can't teach these in depth"* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 4).

However, a teacher in Greek School D (Teacher-e), does not seem to support the view that first generation migrants are more motivated during the lesson. She shared her experience and her reflections on teaching first generation students, even though as she mentioned, these might not be general. As she observed:

*"I have observed something which it may sound a bit weird, but the children that were born in Greece or Cyprus and come here, they try to be detached"* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 6).

She continued by explaining the reasons for students' detachment. As she explained, they are distanced by reacting to the manner in which Greek/Cypriot customs or heritage practices are practiced in the UK. This can be explained by the fact that some cultural practices which used to exist in the past in Cyprus, still take place in the community with the same manner. This is because immigrants practice customs, values they brought with them from their villages more than fifty years ago (Orphanides, 1992), which are then transferred to the next generations. So, these cultural practices can be different from the one practiced in their home country. On the contrary, as Teacher-e continues, third and fourth immigrant students will follow these

practices, because *“they want to keep something Greek”* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 6). As can be extracted from the above example, first- generation students are in a continuous process of negotiating and discovering their identity when they migrate in the UK. They are in a dilemma, as they confront the claim for preservation of Greek culture, while they need to find their position within this new context.

Even though the results have shown that a part of older generation students were also not motivated enough to attend Greek supplementary schools, the above findings suggest that students' motivation to attend Greek schools decrease as the generations progress. This was also a finding of both older and more recent research in Greek supplementary and day schools in the USA and Canada (Constantinides and Tsimpos, 1999; Kourvetaris, 2008). This is problematic and requires further investigation on how the content and activities employed in teaching history and heritage can also affect their motivation and engagement in learning. These issues are examined in more detail in sections 4 and 5 of this chapter.

Two lesson observations in Greek School A and Greek School C are examples of how students' generation can be a contributing factor in explaining students' motivation and engagement. The peculiarity of the lesson in Greek School A, was that most of the students in this class were 1<sup>st</sup> generation students. The students in this class had a very good knowledge of the historical facts regarding Greece involvement in the Second World War. This was observed in students' answers in the multiple-choice test and students' participation in the discussion followed (App. 5, Teachers' Observation No. 5). Students' participation and motivation during this lesson can be compared with the lesson in Greek School C, in which the teaching subject was the same. These students were second-generation students from mixed marriages. Compared to the students of Greek School A, the second generation students did not have the same level of knowledge regarding historical facts, in relation to the first-generation students who have attended Greek mainstream schools. The level of their participation in the lesson was minimised, as well as the level



of their motivation (App. 5, Teachers' Observation No. 5; Teachers' Observation No. 9). Nonetheless, while students' generation and background may be a factor which have contributed in the level of their motivation and engagement, pedagogic practices also play their part, which is something that is returned to in sections 9, 11 and 14 of this chapter.

Not only students' generation but also their family background appears to be influencing their level of motivation and engagement. Based on teachers' responses and lesson observations, students' family background also seems to be important factor which affects students' motivation. This is reflected on teachers' responses in the questionnaires, in which the majority of the teachers responded that family affects their motivation (15 out of 24 teachers strongly agreed, 6 agreed, while only 2 disagreed with this statement) (Teachers' Questionnaire Responses, 2014-2015, 2015-2016).

The effect of the family on students' motivation is pointed out by the head teacher of the Greek School C. As has already been discussed in chapter 5, section A, 1.1, one of the special characteristics of the school, is that the majority of the parents in the schools are first-generation Greek immigrants who work in high rated jobs. According to the head teacher of Greek School C:

*"The family environment definitely (affects) very much, we have students whose parents are academics and they teach classics, whose knowledge is better than mine, and the students know so many things, which they haven't learned at the Greek school, they learned them from their family, so the family environment plays a huge part."*

Based on her response, the family background of the students has an impact on their knowledge, their motivation to learn and enrichment of their knowledge (App. 4, Teachers' Interview No. 7). Based on a lesson observation which I have conducted in this school regarding Greece in the second World War, the students were very engaged during the lesson, they had very good knowledge of historical facts, heroes' actions and the level of their

participation in the classroom was increased (App. 5, Teachers' Observation No. 8).

The fact that Greek School C is a school with many first-generation students, also indicates that the migrants after the economic crisis are of different background, experiences and education (Fotiadou, 2017). This rather shows that with the current migration the students that started attending and will attend these schools, will be of different social and educational background, with different needs and expectations. The change in the Greek community's structure, has already started to have its implications in the classroom and will continue to have an effect on classroom's dynamics in the future. This is something that warrants a reconsideration of education policies and practices, to re-adjust with the current changing situation in Greek supplementary schools.

The above findings presented information regarding the effect of students' background and generation on their motivation to attend Greek supplementary schools. This data reveal that the schools are in a process of change due to the influx of 1<sup>st</sup> generation students in the last few years. According to the questionnaires' and observation data, these students like attending Greek school and are more motivated and engaged in learning process. Students' family background can be considered as a contributing factor affecting students' motivation. This is indicative of the interest of the students from more educated and high-skilled parents in Greek School C. On the contrary, students of third and fourth generation seem to be less motivated in attending Greek school. Students' motivation and engagement in history teaching is an issue that warrants further investigation in relation to issues of operation and resourcing in these institutions.

## **2.2. The time of operation of Greek supplementary schools**

The questionnaire results showed that the majority of students were attending Greek supplementary school on Saturday mornings between 10:00 am to 15:00 pm or 15:30 pm (15 students) or in the afternoons of a week day (13 students, out of whom five were adults) (Student questionnaire results, 2014-2015). When students were questioned about whether they like the day and hours of operation of their Greek school, the majority of the students had a positive attitude about this (14 students), even though this number was very close to those who had neutral or negative attitude towards this (12 students). However, three of the students who were positive about the time of operation were adult students, who either because they are working or due to other obligations, they prefer attending Greek language lessons during late afternoon hours (App. 3, Table no. 52).

A teacher of Greek School D (Teacher-a), explained that the day and time of operation of Greek supplementary schools, is a factor which contributes to students' feeling demotivated to attend their Greek supplementary schools, since they are already tired from their mainstream school. Attending Greek supplementary school, can be an additional 'burden' for the children, since they also receive additional homework, apart from their mainstream school (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 1). According to research in supplementary schools in the UK, the time of operation of supplementary schools, is a negative factor for students' motivation, as it restricts students from doing the activities they wish to do on that day (Maylor et al, 2010).

However, Teacher-a above, who is an experienced teacher, despite being pragmatic about the operational factors which affect students' motivation, she also stresses the role of the teacher and teaching practices in enhancing students' motivation and engagement. As she explained:

*"[...] so that depends on the teacher, the school, to show (to the child) that he doesn't attend school as a chore, but to have a good time, to learn, because*

*the school should not lose its role, it's an educational organisation, but also to have a good time, to be disciplined, to behave as they should do in a park and to learn, but also to have a lovely time, in order to leave school happy."*

This teacher has pointed out that the role of the supplementary education should be to encourage *"have a good time"* and *"leave the school happy"*. At the same time though, she also mentioned that students should be 'disciplined' (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 1). This raises questions of whether this should be the actual role of supplementary education, taking into consideration the fact that the children are already tired, they may be forced to attend Greek school or they may prefer to be engaged in another activity on a Saturday, as the rest of their peers. Based on the above realities, policy makers and teachers need to reconsider the content of policies, the curriculum, as well as the pedagogic practices in order to motivate students to actually have a *'lovely time'* in their Greek supplementary school.

### **2.3. Are resources sufficient and suitable for teaching history and tradition?**

As was revealed in the first phase of the research, teachers use a variety of resources when teaching history and tradition. The resources which are mostly used by teachers when teaching history are photos, handouts, internet, films and maps, while nearly half of the teachers use books in history teaching. The resources used in tradition resemble the ones used in heritage teaching, since half of the teachers use books when teaching tradition, while nearly half of the teachers use handouts. Students' responses corresponded in some points with teachers' responses whether in others were contradictory. Based on their responses, books, handouts and pictures are the ones who are mostly used by their teachers, whether, in contrast to teachers' responses, the internet, films and maps are not widely used (App. 3, Table nos. 36, 37, 38).

The fact that many teachers use handouts in their teaching, may indicate that teachers detect some elements in the books for teaching history and heritage, which render them inappropriate for the students in these schools. As a result, they use handouts which they have either prepared by themselves or have retrieved from various sources.

The head teacher of Greek School D who was responsible for teaching GCE A level, prepared her own resources as a result of the non-availability of suitable resources. As she explained, there is no available material for teaching GCE A level, particularly for history, which would correspond to the students' abilities:

*"regarding the history of A level, I have written it myself with simple words, with translation too. I used the history book of the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of Cyprus High school and I have written it with simple words, because the level didn't correspond to the level of the children here. In geography I have written it myself too, so there are no resources, whatever we do derives from us"* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 8).

The head teacher did her own personal search to find relevant and interesting resources, which will also correspond with students' abilities and level. This warrants further investigation regarding teachers' and students' attitudes and perceptions regarding the suitability of teaching resources (App. 4, Teachers' Interview No. 8). She comes from Cyprus and so she has more knowledge of the history of Cyprus and Larnaca (a city in Cyprus) which was the theme of the GCE. Her engagement in writing the material for her students shows a sense of professionalism and dedication, and her responsibility as a head teacher of the school.

The teachers appeared to be in a dilemma regarding the adequacy of the resources on history and heritage, as the number of the teachers who agreed that there are enough resources, was the same with those who had a neutral attitude (App. 3, Table no 42). While most of the students were satisfied by the resources used in history and heritage teaching, most of the teachers had a neutral stance regarding the suitability of books. However, the number of neutral responses was very close to the number of teachers who disagreed

with this (App. 3, Table nos. 40, 41). The students' questionnaire data explain this attitude by revealing that the books do not correspond with the students' level. In fact, only three students (including one adult) responded that they were 'excited' and 9 'happy' about the books used. This can be explained by data which demonstrated that twelve students (including two adults) had a neutral attitude regarding the statement *"I find that the books on Greek history and tradition are easy to follow"* (Student Questionnaire results, 2014-2015)

Teachers' and students' interview responses elaborate and explain teachers' attitudes and dilemma on the suitability of books and resources. This is illustrated in the music teacher of Greek School B remark that the music repertory, which was suggested by the curriculum or the school, was not always ideal for her. This remark indirectly suggests that teachers can be restricted on teaching a particular content imposed by the curriculum or the resources, which may not always be appropriate. This in turn, can influence students' interest and motivation in learning (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 5).

Similarly, the head teacher of Greek School B, agreed on the non-availability and non-suitability of resources regarding history and tradition, by complaining that:

*"There is not a book completely about the cultural tradition, which will include customs, culture, national commemorations, etc., at least not in our school."*

The head teacher also added that, there is no audio-visual equipment available, particularly for tradition. She continued by explaining that even if there are resources, these are old and do not correspond to the current context and students' needs (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 3).

The teachers justified their responses on the non-suitability of teaching resources based on a number of factors which are related to ethnic minority students' level of comprehension and knowledge of the Greek language, as well as students' interests. Teachers were not satisfied with the content of the books, the language and the structure with which they are written. More

specifically, as a teacher of Greek School D (Teacher-a) explained, the books for teaching history, culture and geography are addressed to children living and attending mainstream schools in Greece and Cyprus (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 1). This raises questions in regards to the level of language in which these books are written, which apparently does not correspond with the level of children for whom Greek is their second language. She explained that by comparing the language and the content of history books in mainstream schooling with that of the supplementary schooling:

*"So, a child here, for whom Greek is his second language, will treat history differently, rather than a child for whom Greek is his first language and he is at the same age and same year (at school). It (the child for whom Greek is its second language), cannot read it (the history), it's impossible to read it" (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 1).*

By referring to history being treated differently by children attending Greek supplementary schools, the teacher does not imply only the matter of language, which is not insignificant, but also the fact that students live and grow in a different context, with different experiences and stimuli. As a result, the way with which they interpret historical and cultural issues will also be different, based on their experiences (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 1).

A teacher of Greek School C (Teacher-b), added that apart from the fact that the material does not correspond to the age and level of the children, it is also not interesting and motivating:

*"[...] but if you want to get into more depth and more details, even if you really want, is really difficult to find some material which is interesting but also suitable for the level of the children" (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 2).*

Teacher-b, who grew up in Greece and with background experience of being taught in Greece (App. 3, Table no. 4), can understand how this experience is different from this of the children in the UK. The above teacher's response is also confirmed and exemplified by a GCE A level student of Greek School B (Student-e). The student explained that the books and textbooks which were

used during teaching GCE A level (in 2014-2015) were so difficult, that students had to translate all the text, which she found as '*too hard*'. She explained that the teacher was translating the text using purely instructional teaching methods, which led to her feeling disengaged during the lesson (App. 6, Students' Interview no. 4). The difficulty in students' understanding of the books and the tasks, and the fact that these did not correspond with their interests, was also a problem which was raised by students in older research in Greek supplementary schools (Deligianni and Louka, 2004; Sideropoulou and Danielidou, 2004). This suggests that the problem with the non-suitability of resources was, and continues to be, a problem in Greek supplementary schools.

Teachers' responses in regards to the books that they use for teaching history are indicative of the above problem regarding the non-suitability or non-availability of teaching resources. Only 5 out of 23 teachers responded that they use the book provided by the Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture for teaching the Greek language and culture ("Μαθαίνω ελληνικά" =I learn Greek). This series of books include a reading and an exercise book for each year. An examination of these books reveals that although there are sections devoted to cultural subjects, there is only sporadic reference to religious practices, mythology and historical facts. Whenever there is reference to historical facts, these are directly connected with national commemorations and celebrations.

For example, the book for the second year, refers only to the parade which takes place for commemorating Greece Independence Day example. There is also a section called "Greek games" which provides an example of how a Greek game is played. Searching at the teachers' book for instructions or suggested teaching activities on how this subject should be taught, there is no reference for comparative learning (for example other traditional games in other parts of the world), which would enable students' critical thinking. The exercises which are provided for these cultural sections are restricted to



questions and exercises of comprehension or grammar exercises (I learn Greek 2, Students' book, 2008, pp. 34-35).

The number of teachers who use other books specifically for history or heritage is limited (App. 3, table no. 39). The books used are those provided by the Ministry of Education, are addressed for students of mainstream schools in Greece and Cyprus. This suggests that these books do not correspond with the age, level, needs, experiences and interests.

The non-suitability and availability of resources can have negative consequences on students' learning and motivation. A teacher of Greek School A (Teacher-c), shed light on the negative consequences of the insufficiency of resources and the teachers' own personal search for relevant resources. Based on her personal experience, she created her own resources, which is time-consuming, as she needed to pay particular attention on both the content and the presentation of the resources. As she explained, extracting information from a variety of sources restricted her from developing a thorough opinion and view regarding historical facts, which subsequently could have particular pedagogic implications in teaching practices:

*"What I have been taught compared to what I read it's different and I 'm concerned with what I will transfer (teach) to the children"* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 4).

This teacher's concern can be referred to the contestation regarding the interpretation and the variety of historical accounts (Leerssen, 2010, p. 72). This has subsequent effects on developing students' preconceptions, as a result of how students interpret historical accounts. This is one of the problems caused by the non-suitability of the teaching resources and it uncovers its impact on students' learning. This section also presented teachers' perceptions of their professionalism and responsibility. The teachers were concerned about the quality of teaching and raised issues of importance, such as the issue of suitability of resources. The fact that the Greek and Cypriot educational system pursues a single textbook policy, the search, on behalf of the teachers,

for additional and more relevant resources, reveals their professionalism and their engagement in teaching in these schools.

#### **2.4. Teaching in rented premises and accessibility of resources**

The insufficiency of resources on teaching history and tradition, can be intensified by the non-accessibility to resources or relevant material. Even though the majority of the teachers responded that they are able to use the existing resources, a part of the teachers, and more specifically the teachers of Greek School C who teach in rented premises, are those who had a more neutral stance on being able to access resources and material (App 3, Table no. 57).

The teachers of Greek School C admit that this practical issue of inaccessibility to resources, impacts on teaching efficacy. These views were also confirmed in observations which I have conducted in Greek school C, in which the lessons operated in two rooms with a big table and chairs around it. There was no students' work on display and no whiteboard or other teaching facilities (App. 4, Observation Nos 7, 8). This, according to the headteacher of the school, may affect the quality of teaching, since the rooms are not suitable for teaching, especially for younger ages (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 7).

Based on information received from the teachers and the observations I conducted in the school, the teachers need to bring the teaching resources with them, for example laptop, resources for activities and carry the books from the warehouse (App. 4, Observation Nos 7, 8). One of the teachers of Greek School C that I observed (Teacher-b), pointed out the effect of this on the social positioning of the school and particularly how parents consider this as something which may affect their child's learning. As she supported:

*"... this has a (negative) effect to the image of the Greek school to the outer (world) and how others interpret this, that is for a parent to bring his child to a place which is not even a class..."* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 2)

The teacher also mentioned that teaching in other premises and not in proper classroom can lead to students' feeling disengaged, because students feel that is this not their classroom (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 2). However, a former student of Greek school C (Former Student-a), does not seem to have adopted the same view. Based on his experiences, the fact that learning was not operating in a proper classroom, did not affect the learning process. On the contrary it created a more 'relaxed' and motivating learning environment:

*"I don't think that this plays a significant role and I think because it was like that, it made the lesson and the whole environment more relaxing, I found it easier to learn like that"* (App. 6, Students' Interview 1).

The above former student's reply raises questions as to whether the accessibility to resources or a well-resourced learning environment is a prerequisite to effective learning. According to the data of this research, the non-suitability and availability of resources has negative consequences on students' learning and motivation. Especially the history books and resources which promote a single-sided view of history, can be a basic factor for developing students' preconceptions. This is also intensified due to the controversy of the history as a teaching subject itself (Philips, 2008).

The above findings shed light on a persistent problem in Greek supplementary education – the non-availability and non-suitability of relevant resources for teaching history and heritage. The non-suitability of resources in Greek supplementary schools was an issue that was also raised in older research in Greek supplementary schools in UK and Canada (Karadjia-Stavlioti and Louka-Crann, 1999; Constantinides and Tsimpos, 1999). However, the persistence of this problem, is an issue that needs further investigation. As the data demonstrate, this issue has negative consequences on students' learning and motivation, as part of the students and teachers consider that the books are difficult to understand and do not correspond to their interests and experiences. This also renders teachers' work more difficult, as they need to produce their own resources, after a personal search through various teaching

resources. This practice though, raises questions regarding the accuracy and applicability of this material to the learning needs and expectations of the children in the diaspora. Apart from this, the insufficient guidance on how to use these resources or which methods to use to teach history and heritage render the insufficiency of resources even more problematic. This is an issue to be examined in the following section.

### **3. Teachers' guidance on teaching history and heritage**

The interconnection between the insufficiency of resources regarding history and tradition teaching, as well as the effect of the insufficiency of guidelines on how to teach the content as advised in the curriculum, is reflected in teachers' interview responses. A teacher of Greek School D (Teacher-e), identified the insufficiency of teaching resources as the main problem which the teachers need to deal with when teaching culture. She explained this, by comparing her teaching experience in mainstream schools in Greece, with her experience in Greek supplementary schools. Teaching these subjects in Greece was not difficult, in contrast with teaching these subjects in supplementary schools. As a teacher in a Greek supplementary school, she has to search in order to find relevant and engaging material which will correspond to the needs and level of the children of her class. Apart from that though, she also pointed out the significant factor of insufficient guidance on how to teach these subjects. The teacher identified this problem, by posing this rhetorical question:

*"Even if there were books, how should we teach them, page by page?"* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 6).

The above teacher's response denotes a different kind of professionalism and responsibility for the quality of history teaching in these schools. Even though Teacher-e is a qualified teacher, as a professional she raises concern for not being trained on how to teach history in Greek supplementary schools. This insufficiency appears to be reflected in teachers' responses regarding the

guidance they receive on history and tradition teaching. Questionnaire data revealed that the majority of teachers felt they had insufficient guidance on how to teach history and tradition (App. 3, Table no. 49).

More particularly, when teachers were asked about the source of their guidance and advice, only eleven teachers responded that they searched the curriculum for advice (App 3, Table no. 50). This can be related to the difficulty in tracing the curriculum for Greek supplementary schools before it was uploaded online on 2015. It should be noted that the revised curriculum for Greek supplementary education was uploaded on the Cyprus Education Mission website, on 2015, while the first part of the research was conducted on 2014 – beginning of 2015. The interviews were conducted in 2015, so they may have not known its availability online.

Interestingly, the majority of the teachers, searched for guidance from the Centre of Intercultural and Migration Studies (ΕΔΙΑΜΜΕ/Ε.ΔΙΑ.Μ.ΜΕ), which is part of the Department of Primary Education of the University of Crete in Greece (App. 3, Table no 50). The number of teachers who use this website is larger than those who search advice from the curriculum or the Ministry of Education websites and departments. This centre prepares and provides books and educational material for children of diaspora and uploads them online. The teachers are able to find complementary educational material from their website (Ε.ΔΙΑ.Μ.ΜΕ, 2004).

The questionnaire data also revealed that only five of the teachers receive guidance on how to teach history and tradition from training and seminars (App. 3, Table no 50). The issue of insufficient training and guidance on teaching history and tradition was also raised in the interviews with the teachers, as a prevalent issue which needs to be dealt with. For example, a teacher in Greek School D (Teacher-a), explained with some regret, that she had never received any training or attended any seminar regarding the teaching of history and tradition. Consequently, she '*experiments*' with teaching by reflecting on her teaching, as she said. She also receives advice

and guidance from her colleagues (App. 4, Teachers' Interview No. 1), which was also indicated as a means of receiving guidance by part of the teachers in the questionnaires (App. 3, Table no 50). This teacher, is a qualified historian (App. 3, Table no. 4) and she realised through all these years of experience in teaching in these schools that teaching history is different and needs a specific attention and a specific training.

The example provided below is another teacher who 'experiments' during her lessons. This teacher is not experienced in teaching history, as she is a qualified music teacher (App. 3, Table no. 4) and she complained that she had not received any guidance for teaching culture as a non-specialised teacher. The result was a personal search for resources and approaches to keep students motivated:

*"[...] there are not certain guidelines on what I should follow as a non-specialized teacher for example, on how I should teach history, so I always need to improvise - in quotation marks (as the teacher has literally responded), in order to be able to find subjects which are related and could be of an interest to these particular children"* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 5).

The data reveal that there is no sufficient guidance on teaching history and tradition. This is problematic, because as was discussed in Chapter 5, Section 2.1, some of the teachers are not professional Greek language or culture teachers and the majority of the teachers do not have adequate experience in teaching in these schools. This inadequacy can be also interpreted and related with the importance attributed to Greek language teaching, which will be examined in more detail in section 6. The following sections also examine how this insufficiency of educational policies, resources and guidance is reflected in actual teaching practices and how it affects students' motivation and engagement. It also discusses how the importance attributed to teaching particular content of history and tradition, can be related to particular views and well-established ideas on ethnicity and culture.

#### **4. Teaching methods, activities and students' motivation**

Teachers, during the first phase of the research, were asked to identify which activities they use when teaching history and tradition. In contrast to what appears to have been a former reliance on a 'chalk and talk' teaching method, contemporary teachers describe a variety of activities when teaching history and tradition. Based on the questionnaire responses, the learning and teaching strategies that contemporary teachers prefer using the most are the creative activities, which often involve group activities and educational games (App. 3, Table no. 43). These teaching activities, if applied properly, taking into consideration students' needs, preferences and experiences, can encourage enquiry-based learning, which urges students to explore, compare and reflect on their learning (Kolb et al, 2001). However, the data also reveal that teaching practices sometimes assumed to have consigned to the past, continue into the present. According to teachers' responses in the questionnaires, more than half of the teachers still use activities from books, even though these may not be suitable for teaching history and tradition (App. 3, Table no. 43).

The curriculum for Greek Supplementary schools emphasises the importance of a pleasant learning environment for encouraging the cultivation of critical thinking and research skills (CEM, 2015). As the Head of CEM also added, the teachers should implement cross-curricular and pleasant activities for the children, in order for the children to love their school and to attend it with happiness (App. 3, Open Questionnaire 2). The curriculum for Greek supplementary schools also stresses that the activities used should be based on the socio-cultural environment in which students are placed. While it acknowledges the influence of the macro-context on students' identities and learning, at the same time, it also claims that these skills should help students empower and preserve their ethnic identities (CEM, 2015).

In the curriculum for the Greek supplementary schools, there is a section regarding the methods which teachers can use in their lessons (CEM, 2015).

However, these activities are basically for teaching the Greek language and there is no reference to methods and activities which can be used while teaching any element of tradition or culture. This is a significant absence, as it illustrates the insufficiency of official guidance regarding how to teach history and tradition in Greek supplementary schools, and in doing so it confirms a fundamental problem identified by contemporary teachers. The CEM website uploaded educational material for 'social subjects', in which history and tradition are included, but this material basically concerns celebrations and commemorations (CEM, 2015). This shows that the importance in Greek supplementary schools is on teaching particular elements of Greek culture, such as Greek language teaching and national commemorations and celebrations. This is an issue which will be thoroughly investigated in the subsequent sections.

## **5. The teaching content of history and tradition**

Teachers were asked about which subjects of history and tradition they teach. Only a small number of teachers responded that they teach ancient history and ancient monuments, while the majority of the teachers responded that they teach recent history (App. 3, Table no. 45). One reason that teachers prefer to teach recent history and mythology rather than ancient monuments and ancient history is provided by a teacher in Greek School B (Teacher-d). Based on her response, recent history is closer to children experiences and more relevant to the social environment in which they live:

*"Ancient history is not my specialty, also recent history is closer (in relation to chronology) to children, to their experiences, their families ... because these particular children are grown up in England, there are certain social subjects which can be related to them and it's good if these are connected with them and they should know them ..."* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 5).

Learning about recent history was clearly confirmed as the most famous teaching subject by students as well (App. 3, Table no. 47). This can be related



with the teaching about national commemorations, which are connected to recent historical facts from the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Only eight current students responded that they learn about ancient history and seven students about ancient monuments (App. 3, Table no. 47). Interestingly, the majority of the students, responded that they are enthusiastic in learning about Greek heroes. The same number of students responded that they like learning about Greek mythology, as well as fights with conquerors, which is referred as recent history (App. 3, Bar Chart No. 4).

A significant amount of teachers responded that they teach Greek mythology (App. 3, Table no. 45). Contrary to teachers' responses, only six students responded that they learn Greek mythology, even though this is not a teaching subject that they will not be disinterested in (App. 3, Table no 47; App. 3, Bar Chart no. 4). Students' interest in Greek mythology is expanded in the interview responses. A former male student of Greek School B (Former Student-d), justified his interest in learning about Greek mythology. His personal interest in mythology has also urged him to ask for more information from his teachers at his English school and buy books regarding Greek mythology to enrich his knowledge. His visits to archaeological sites in Cyprus which are connected with Greek mythology, also reveal how students' personal experiences affect their level of attachment and motivation in Greek mythology:

*"I've got lots of books at home and at (my) English school I used to go round asking my teachers 'Do you know about this topic?' And they taught be a bit about it as well and I got really attached to mythology and every time I went to Cyprus we used to go in an ancient Greek temple and every year I said 'I want to go to Aphrodite's rock in Paphos', 'I want to go to Apollo's temple', 'I want to go to the theatres, I want to do this' [...] I do buy Greek mythology books on different themes/subjects [...]"* (App. 6, Students' Interview 6)

However, a female student in Greek School B (Student-e), does not seem to be motivated by the supernatural and imaginative content of Greek mythology. She prefers learning about more realistic themes, for example

historical facts regarding wars. This student explained her preference by saying that:

*"[...] if it's history about the Gods and stuff like that probably not (I wouldn't be interested), it's mystical kind of stuff, but if it was history about the wars or if it was more real thing, otherwise it could just be ... I mean nobody knows if Greek gods were real or not so.." (App. 6, Students' Interview 4).*

Two teachers (Teacher-a and Teacher-b) remarked in the interviews that students are more motivated and engaged when they learn about Greek mythology and Greek heroes from Greek mythology and Greek antiquity. Teacher-a, a teacher in Greek School D, argued that students are more attracted to heroes from Greek mythology and antiquity, because they connect these heroes with heroes from their everyday life and experiences with their imagination. They also find common virtues in these heroes, which students admire.

As she responded:

*"They like learning about ancient things, whatever has to do with mythology, great heroes, great heroes that they know from cartoons, for example about Hercules, Jason, children get really excited when they learn about these. They are heroes, and they connect them with other heroes, someone can connect them with Spiderman, they have huge imagination ... [...] "They find common elements (between the heroes) in heroism, in virtue" (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 1).*

Teacher-b, a teacher in Greek School C, also expressed students' interest in learning about Odyssey and Iliad, which are Greek epic poems with elements between history and fiction:

*"They like mythology and they like the stories of Odyssey and Iliad a lot, which are not mythology but they are not history either, you understand what I mean ... Let's say last year we have done Odyssey and they were very excited about it .... they like these things very much ... and all these, mythology, Hercules'*

*twelve labours, everything regarding the 12 Gods of Olympus, all these, they enjoy them very, very much..." (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 2).*

The extract suggests that students can be more motivated and enthusiastic when they are taught about recent history and mythology, rather than ancient history and monuments. This students' 'admiration' and interest in learning about heroes of Greek heroes and heroes of the Greek mythology, is driven and influenced by a 'nostalgia' for a mythologized and glorious past. This can also be influenced by normative views regarding the superiority of the Greek nation, prevalent in Greek historiography (Millas, 2008), as well as the virtues and power resulting from the heroes of the Greek mythology. This can also be related to gender and that male students, as Former Student-d, are more in favour of semi-gods who exist in mythology who are male and they can be related with them or with the superheroes.

Students were also asked to express their attitudes regarding heritage education. Almost half of the students responded that they learn about Greek dances and music (App 3, Table no. 47). Not only this, but most of them answered that they are enthusiastic when learning about Greek dances and Greek music (App. 3, Bar chart no. 4). Research in Greek supplementary schools in the UK revealed that the students who considered school as pleasant, this was because of the learning of Greek dances and songs, as well as their participation in the life of the Greek community (Karatzia-Stavlioti and Louka-Crann, 1999). The responses of two students from Greek School D in open questionnaires, are indicative of students' enthusiasm for learning Greek dances. More specifically, a 16-year-old student from Greek School D (Student-c) commented that she 'loves' learning new Greek dances in her Greek school and another student from the same school of the same age (Student-b), added that dancing is her favourite of all the subjects at the Greek school (App. 6, Students' Open Quest. Nos. 2, 3).

A former student from Greek School B, also showed his particular interest and enthusiasm in learning Greek traditional dancing:

*"[...] I always enjoyed going for dancing, learning traditional dancing for me that was one of my favourite parts of Greek school, definitely"* (App. 6, Students' Interview 6).

The head teacher's of Greek school B response on students' learning of Greek dances, can clarify students' preference and enthusiasm in learning Greek dances. Greek and Cypriot dances, as can be extracted from head teacher's response, provide a form of ethnic identification and a source of pride for their ethnic identity. This can be because dancing can be more practical form of expressing feelings and emotions of ethnic origin. As she explained:

*"[...] most parents pay attention to (their children learning) dances more rather than history, .... I don't know ... they feel that ... they feel proud when they see their child dancing a Greek dance, a Cypriot dance during a celebration"* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 3).

The most popular heritage teaching subjects was learning about celebrations (e.g. Christmas, Easter), while only small number of students responded that they learn about habits of people in the past (5 students) and customs related to Greek celebrations (7 students) (App. 3, Table no. 47). Despite the fact that more than half of the teachers responded that students are enthusiastic when learning about customs (App. 4, Table no. 32), students do not appear to be excited in learning customs compared with their responses from other subjects, although this subject concentrates a satisfactory level of positive responses (Bar chart no. 4).

A teacher of Greek School D (Teacher-a), provided reasons for students' enthusiasm regarding learning about traditional customs. As can be extracted from her response below, she has responded with greater enthusiasm about students' motivation and engagement when learning about the folklore tradition of Greece and Cyprus, rather than when she referred to Greek mythology. She also referred to the themes of tradition teaching, which students are very enthusiastic when learning about them:

*"The subject they get really crazy about is what has to do with the folklore tradition of Greece and Cyprus. They don't want to learn things regarding the everyday life, but whatever has to do with the folklore tradition, the tillage, how the grape press was performed, the olive picking, they really like (learning) things like that, they like that"* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 1).

The head teacher of Greek School B also expressed students' particular interest in learning about the customs associated with particular celebrations:

*"I wouldn't say that (they are interested) in a particular lesson, when we usually talk about the customs of Christmas and Easter, then this is something more interesting ..."* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 3).

Students' enthusiasm for learning about Greek customs and traditions, can be also closely connected and attributed to their attachment with the Greek community and its practices. This is also related to their own search for their past and their roots which allows them to discover their identities. However, the history of a culture was used as a means of fostering and empowering ethnic identities (Grever et al, 2012). Taking into consideration the fact that heritage is deeply rooted, it is in fact questionable whether and how it can allow students to negotiate their identities and actively reflect on their past. This may well depend on teaching practices and whether these provide students the opportunity to explore and critically think about past practices in relation to the present. Students' enthusiasm in learning about customs can also be explained by the fact that these are subject to change, allowing the infusion of new elements in their practice (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2012). Especially the practice of customs in communities can be renovated based on students' experiences and the context they are placed. However, Greek-Cypriot migrants wished to preserve values and traditions which were not in force in Cyprus, and they often attributed an ideal image to this past (Georgiou, 1991; Triseliotis, 1965). This is exemplified with the practice of national commemorations and celebrations which exist in Greece and Cyprus and they may be considered as a means of enforcing ethnic identities.

As a teacher of Greek School C (Teacher-b) explained, Greek immigrant students learn different aspects of culture, the more 'folklore' one at their Greek supplementary school and the more 'standard' one, – the one which is more widely accepted, at their mainstream school. She pointed out though that these cultural elements should be taught in a way that students can understand that these are distinguished (App. 4, Teachers' Interview No. 2). The 'folklore' cultural elements can be related to unofficial accounts of history related to memory, which immigrants struggle to bring into the present to bridge the past with the present and empower their identities (Burrell and Panayi, 2006). These unofficial accounts often relate to nostalgic memories or glorious moments of the past, which differentiate them from official accounts of history.

Contrary to responses of students aged 13-18 years old, adult students appear to be taught about the Greek language more than history and heritage. Most of the adult students are taught about habits of people in the past (3 students), recent history (2 students) and mythology (2 students), while they are not taught about other subjects, such as ancient monuments, dance and music (App. 3, table no. 46). This can be explained by the fact that the adult students, as was already discussed, are mostly interested in learning the Greek language rather than any other teaching subject for more practical reasons. When they are taught about history and heritage elements, they do not seem to be very enthusiastic about it as can be revealed in the questionnaires results (App. 3, Table no. 35). The fact that all adults do not have a Greek/Cypriot origin may be reason that they are not very attached or enthusiastic about learning the Greek culture or the teaching content and activities may not correspond to their learning interests.

The results indicate that despite teaching various history elements, the majority of teaching time for history and heritage appears to be dominated by teaching recent history and celebrations of cultural and religious events. This is an issue that will be examined in more detail in section 7 of this chapter and its impact on students' motivation and construction of identities.

## **6. The dominance of the Greek language teaching**

The preservation and development of the Greek language is outlined as one of the purposes of the Greek supplementary education, according to the Greek law 2413/1996 and the revised curriculum for the Greek supplementary education (CEM, 2015; Law 2413/1996, Article 1, Paragraph 1). The Greek language is considered as part of the ethnic and cultural heritage, is a carrier of ideological and cultural elements and values and is claimed to be necessary for communicating with relatives and be connected with the language of their ancestors (CEM, 2015).

According to the response from the Head of CEM, teaching is cross-curricular, in which different subjects of the curriculum are included and are interconnected. More specifically, the texts for the teaching of the Greek language include elements of history and culture and the elements of history and culture are taught to the students through the teaching of the Greek language, either orally or in written (App. 4, Open Questionnaire 2).

However, based on students' and teachers' responses, the teaching of Greek language appears to dominate over the other subjects taught in Greek supplementary schools, occupying the majority of the teaching time. This, according to teachers' views, is one of the major problems in teaching history and tradition effectively. The dominance of teaching of the Greek language can be closely related to former and current students' attitudes referring to the main reason for attending Greek schools, which was to learn the Greek language (App. 3, Table No. 29, Bar chart 3).

Interview data with former students, suggest that the dominance of language teaching is not only a contemporary difficulty but a longstanding problem with its roots in past education policies and practices. For example, a member of the school committee of Greek School B, also remembered how teachers

placed great emphasis on teaching the Greek language, and in doing so, subordinated the teaching of history and tradition. He remembered that:

*"Our teachers were more focused on teaching the Greek language, preparing theatrical plays for celebrations and dancing. We weren't taught many things about history and tradition" (App. 6, Students' Interview 2).*

Similarly, another former student who attended Greek School B during the 1960s -1970s (App. 3, Table no. 5), argued that second generation students like him, were more able to understand the historical background to Greek commemorations because they knew the Greek language. His contrast was with contemporary third and fourth generation children who, without sufficient history teaching, may not know or understand the meaning of lyrics during community celebrations. For this former student:

*"Back then, because we were more able to understand the language, as we were speaking Greek at home, I believe we were more able to understand about what the 28<sup>th</sup> of October means, what the 25<sup>th</sup> of March means, we were able to understand the lyrics of the songs we were singing, now the children do not understand nothing and I believe that the lyrics should be explained, this is very important" (App. 6, Students' Interview 5).*

However, these normative views and practices regarding the teaching of the Greek language, appear to continue to exist in current teaching practices. A student who attended Greek school B for more than six years (App. 3, Table no. 5), does not seem to have the same view regarding the importance of teaching the Greek language. She concludes with disappointment that in her school she is mainly taught the Greek language. As she mentions:

*"... It's that they just teach you Greek, they don't teach you much about Greece ..." (App. 6, Students' Interview 4).*

This issue is also prevalent in teachers' and students' views in the interviews. A teacher in Greek School D for more than six years (Teacher-a), when she was



asked about the difficulties she faces when teaching history and tradition, she stressed that the emphasis is placed on teaching the Greek language:

*"The whole mechanism, the importance, is given in learning the language and this (the teaching of culture) comes second. These could have been taught together" (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 1).*

Teacher-a explained that the 'mechanism', implying the policies and guidelines of the curriculum, places emphasis on teaching the Greek language, which subordinates the teaching of history and tradition (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 1). More particularly, based on the revised curriculum of Cyprus Educational Mission (2015), grammar should not be considered as a principal aim, but as a means for precise expression and communication. As it is claimed, grammar is not taught separately, but based on the context of a holistic teaching of the Greek language, where the emphasis is on its functional use. It is taught through the texts of the thematic units and students' work (CEM, 2015). Nevertheless, when the curriculum continues by providing the grammar facts which should be taught in each year, this seems to contradict the above claims. Teachers are advised to teach ten to twenty grammar facts each year, which is a comparatively high and ambitious number of grammar facts, especially for younger ages and within the limited time of operation of supplementary schools.

The disproportionate attention given to grammar in the teaching of the Greek language, was also supported by Teacher-a of Greek school D. The teacher stressed the fact that even though grammar dominated, it certainly did not motivate students:

*"The method of teaching of the Greek language is more grammar – centred and that is what children don't like" [...] (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 1).*

Learning grammar is placed within the general aim of Cyprus Educational Mission, of gaining reading and writing skills. These skills, as the curriculum maintains, are fundamental for the children's learning process, their wider spiritual cultivation and the holistic development of their personality (CEM,

2015). According to the curriculum (CEM, 2015), a basic aim of the Greek supplementary school, should be to gain these skills. These claims are also confirmed by the teachers of the Greek supplementary schools. The head teacher of Greek School B, pointed out that the emphasis of CEM is still on teaching the Greek language:

*"We also receive guidance from CEM, which gives more emphasis on the Greek language, there is only half an hour dedicated to teaching culture, history and tradition etc., so basically we have a restriction in this curriculum"* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 3).

In addition, the head teacher shed light on another difficulty faced by the teachers when teaching history and tradition that follows from the dominance of Greek language teaching. The head teacher, as well as the majority of the teachers interviewed, mentioned that there is not adequate time for teaching history and tradition, as the majority of teaching time is dedicated to teaching the Greek language (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 3).

Teachers' interview responses explained and expanded upon the problems they identified in the teaching of history and tradition. Almost half of the teachers felt that there was insufficient time for teaching history and tradition (App. 3, Table no. 55). The teaching time in Greek supplementary schools is restricted to two to five hours on Saturdays or two hours during weekday afternoons. Apart from Greek language teaching, commemorations seem to take the next largest portion of teaching time. More specifically and for 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> years, history teaching is dominated by teaching historical facts related specifically to national commemorations (Teachers' questionnaire results, 2014-2015, 2015-2016). As a result, the teaching time which could be devoted to other historical or cultural subjects, is restricted. The limited teaching time in supplementary schools was also considered as a disadvantage in students' learning in older and more recent research in Greek and Chinese supplementary schools (Mau et al, 2009; Constantinides and Tsimpos, 1999).

Questionnaire data suggest that, the majority of teachers devote less than thirty minutes up to thirty minutes to culture teaching during a school day, probably due to the limitation in teaching time per school day and the curriculum which is dominated by Greek language teaching. The majority of the teachers selected 'other' as their response to the question regarding how much time they devote on history teaching. Some of these teachers commented in the questionnaire that they teach history and tradition when a commemoration approaches. Others commented that they try to incorporate cultural aspects in each lesson (App 3, Table No. 53). So, the time devoted in teaching history and heritage depends on the commemoration or the celebration approaching. As the head teacher of Greek School B explained, the school programme on Saturday is so overloaded with a variety of activities, from religious teaching, to dance and language, that the time left for history and tradition is minimal. As the head teacher concluded:

*"So, if you literally follow this (schedule), the teachers do not have the required time (at their disposal) to dedicate (to history and tradition teaching), but sometimes you just have to set aside the teaching of the Greek language and do it"* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 3).

However, a teacher from Greek School D, appeared to be rather pragmatic about the difficulties imposed by the lack of time. It would, she argued, have been difficult to provide additional time for supplementary education and that the teaching time they have at their disposal is not insignificant (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 1).

Most teachers agreed that students prefer learning history and tradition to learning about Greek language, even though this was close to those who had a neutral stance regarding this question. Teachers mostly agreed that students are enthusiastic when learning about history and heritage (App. 3, table nos. 33, 34). Teachers' interviews justified and expanded on the above questionnaire responses. Teachers explained that students are more motivated when they learn about Greek history and tradition, rather than

Greek language, as teaching of the Greek language, and particularly grammar teaching can be boring, whereas history was rated as more interesting. The head teacher of the Greek School D considers the teaching of grammar as equally important as the teaching of history and tradition, but when she was asked about students' enthusiasm on teaching history and tradition she answered:

*"Yes, yes, yes, because the lesson is more relaxed when teaching about history, mythology compared to language, which may be more boring"* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 8)

A teacher in Greek School D (Teacher-a) provided more details regarding students' preference on history and tradition when she was interviewed. The teacher explained that students are more interested in learning about history and tradition, compared to learning about grammar and syntax rules. As she explained:

*"Children always want to learn about history and tradition, they have lots of interest, so they prefer to learn about the history and tradition instead of learning about a verb"* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 1).

The same teacher suggested that if language teaching was enriched with cultural elements, this may motivate students more and the lesson would become more interesting (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 1). Yet, students do not necessarily share this view that grammar should be taught through history lessons and generally as part of Greek language teaching. A former student of Greek School C, enjoyed history but he still considered the teaching of grammar both important and necessary:

*"I think I liked history more, but I considered it as important to learn about grammar, even though it was not so interesting [...] learning grammar when reading a text for example, not directly, I think I learned grammar this way, but I think it was important to learn grammar on its own, without reading, I think both are needed"* (App. 6, Students' Interview 1).

However, a student of Greek School B (Student-e) considered that grammar is not so necessary in understanding Greek, as she mentions below:

*"... when I first started (Greek school) I hated it, I cried [...] but then I started to like it because you make friends, as I grew older and we did proper work and not colouring I didn't like it, but when I got to GCSE I realised that I can understand most things, even if my grammar is not brilliant [...]" (App. 6, Students' Interview 4).*

This student also pointed out is that she did not feel motivated to attend Greek school, precisely because of the teaching methods and activities used. She was able to get more engaged and 'understand' the content of what she learned when she reached the GCSE (App. 6, Students' Interview no. 4). The curriculum of Greek School B, where Student-e is a student, emphasises the teaching of grammar facts during all grades, until students reach the Pre-GCSE level. It is only at pre-GCSE level that students are taught grammar through various thematic units, for example daily life themes, social activities, family/house activities, to get prepared for their exams (Greek School B website, 2016).

The situation does not seem to have changed significantly, compared to what was taught in the past. This is what a member of the school committee of Greek School B answered when he was asked about what he would suggest to improve Greek supplementary schooling:

*"I would like it if it was more enjoyable, to link learning with modern life. I would like to have learned about Hercules and generally about Greek mythology. The school was more academic back then" (App. 6, Students' Interview 2).*

This former student pointed out the fact that Greek school was more academic when he was a student, implying that it was more focused on teaching the Greek grammar and generally the Greek language. He also implied that he was not motivated when he was attending Greek school, because it was not enjoyable. Here too, the teaching focus on the Greek language was remembered as demotivating (App. 6, Students' Interview 2). Even though

Greek supplementary schools incorporate teaching of cultural elements, the focus is still on teaching the Greek language and particularly the Greek grammar, continuing to be characterised as purely 'academic'.

Teachers and students, recognizing this problematic situation, have provided alternative solutions for dealing with the dominance of the Greek language teaching. A current GCE student of Greek School B for example, suggested that Greek school could provide various subjects during the day of attendance, apart from predominantly teaching the Greek language and be rearranged to resemble the format of mainstream schooling. What is more widely suggested, both by the teachers and students, is the provision of Greek language teaching through history teaching. As a teacher in Greek School D suggested, this could render learning more engaging:

*"When the teaching of Greek language can be enriched with elements of culture and tradition, then that will attract their attention more" (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 1).*

Another GCE student of Greek School B, stressed the difficulty of learning the Greek grammar by students. Based on older research of Sideropoulou and Danielidou (2004), students considered that language activities were quite – very difficult and that these did not correspond to their interests and their language level. As a result, the student suggested learning the Greek grammar through historical texts, which could render learning more motivating and engaging:

*"We could use historical texts to learn grammar, because students struggle with tenses, so that learning would have been more enjoyable and you could learn both" (App. 6, Students' Interview 3).*

Even though this may seem an interesting suggestion for learning the Greek language, it could still lead to students' feeling unmotivated or disengaged. I had the opportunity to observe the incorporation of Greek language teaching in teaching historical events related to national commemorations in two different schools. Particularly in Greek School A this was part of the whole

school's practicing and rehearsing of the national commemoration of Greece involvement in the Second World War. The commemoration involved students learning poems, songs, dances and texts narrating the historical facts of this event. A teacher in Greek school A (Teacher-c) and a teacher in Greek school C (Teacher-h) have combined learning about Greek history with teaching and learning the Greek language. Both teachers took advantage of a historical commemoration in order to teach grammar facts, syntax, reading and vocabulary. The grammar facts were based on the content of the lesson and the vocabulary was also derived from the narration of relevant historical facts (App. 5, Teachers' Observations 6 and 9) .

The level of the class of the teacher in Greek School C was year 3 and Greek was taught as a foreign language (App. 5, Teachers' Observation 9). The subject was Greece involvement in the Second World War. The teacher began the lesson with describing some of the historical facts of the war, the difficulties that the soldiers have faced and the consequences of the war. The teacher used a video-documentary, discussion, and sharing students' personal experiences regarding the involvement of their relatives in the Second World War.

The students were then asked to do an activity based on what they have learned about the war. The activity asked them to imagine that they were photographers during the war and the period of occupation. Students were asked to write sentences that described imagined photographs of war and occupation. In doing so, the students were not only expressing their thoughts regarding occupation, but also practicing in forming sentences in Greek and, with the teacher's input, developing their knowledge of grammar, syntax and vocabulary. Students were asked to write the sentences on a small removable board and copy them in their exercise handout (App. 5, Teachers' Observation 9). This activity anticipated that students would make mistakes, but involved students in trial and error, rather than passively absorbing knowledge. This is a process that based on Kolb's experiential learning, students can explore

different elements by themselves and critically reflect on their learning (Kolb et al, 2000). It also reflects the school's aim for promoting active learning in the classroom (Greek school C website, 2016).

Despite the careful planning and staging the activity, students did not appear very engaged. The teacher was intervening several times to keep students focused on the task. One of the aims of this activity was to improve students' language skills, but students struggled with the grammar and syntax of the sentences and the teacher had to intervene to provide the correct answer. However, this activity allowed students to make mistakes, remember their mistakes and improve them in the future (App. 5, Teachers' Observation No. 9). This process is reminiscent of a communicative teaching approach in which learners are engaged in trial and error and they contribute to the learning process (Richards and Rodgers, 2001).

The second part of the lesson was regarding an interesting subject, based on the general concept of friendship, mutual understanding and acceptance. This was related to the narrative "Tzovani", which will be discussed with more details in a subsequent section. Despite the potentially interesting topic, students also appeared disengaged, when they were asked to turn a passage of the text from past tense to present tense, to practice a grammar fact that they have learned. The students struggled with the tenses and lost their interest. Even though the main emphasis of the teaching in the school is placed on the active participation and oral communication of the students through a variety of engaging activities (Greek school C website, 2016), the grammar activities rendered the students feeling demotivated and not engaged in the learning process (App. 5, Teachers' Observation 9).

The head teacher of Greek school C, argued that a basic requirement for teaching and learning culture is students' good level of Greek language (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 7). Nevertheless, two other teachers were more



ambivalent on whether language should be considered a prerequisite of teaching culture. A teacher from Greek school D, wondered whether it would be better to use the English language for teaching history and heritage in order to ensure that the students have understood the teaching content (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 6). A teacher from Greek school A (Teacher-c), provided the answer to this question, and in doing so indirectly challenges the claim that a good level of Greek language should be a requirement for teaching culture. Based on her experience, when she was teaching in English or using a mixture of English and Greek, this engaged students more during the lesson and the content of the lesson was more understandable. As she said:

*"It would also be good to teach them in English for a start, so whenever I have spoken to them in English, I have attracted their interest more, and it's preferable to speak in English and to know that they have understood some things, rather than in Greek and know that they haven't understood it at all"* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 4).

Teacher-c appears to be restricted by the requirements of the curriculum and the teaching of grammar facts. I have observed a lesson which this teacher has prepared regarding the participation of Greece in the Second World War. This class had two levels, reception and year 2. There were more than ten students in the classroom and some of them migrated from Greece recently.

Teacher-c at the beginning of the lesson, pointed out the main facts regarding Greece involvement in the war, because one of the aims of the lesson was for students to understand the reason for commemorating the 28<sup>th</sup> October, 1940. This part of the lesson involved a comparison of the past and how students experienced the war compared with the current situation and how students imagine peace looks like. Especially the first two activities, developed students' imagination, critical thinking and reflection. The rest of the lesson was dominated by teaching grammar facts and generally the development of students' language skills. These grammar facts were included as a requirement in the curriculum for year 2. Part of the grammar exercises involved completing

the blanks, copying sentences and circling the correct word based on the grammar fact. Similar grammar exercises were also set as students' homework (App. 5, Teachers' Observation 6).

Compared to the first part of the lesson which involved learning about cultural aspects, the students were not so engaged during completing their grammar exercises and required assistance and support from the teacher. During the cultural part of the lesson, students were more engaged and participated in the discussion and had the opportunity to develop their critical thinking and understanding regarding cultural concepts, such as peace (App. 5, Teachers' Observation 6).

This is an example of how the normative policy of teaching grammar can disengage students, even if the subject is interesting. Even though the suggestion of incorporating learning the Greek language, including Greek grammar is an alternative solution to learning the Greek language, this could be implemented in a way that will enable students to be actively engaged during the lesson and encourage their participation. This raises the question whether teaching Greek grammar should be a prerequisite for developing students' language skills or teaching cultural subjects, or whether language skills can be developed indirectly, using engaging and motivating activities, which will not impose that these are strictly grammar exercises.

The head teacher of Greek School B, argued that learning about the Greek language only, does not help students understand their past, their origin and their identity. Yet, it is also significant that, for the head teacher at least, teaching the history and traditions of Greece was necessary, precisely because a "*complete transfer of the Greek culture*" cannot be achieved with the teaching of the Greek language only (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 3). Greek language teaching was considered as a means of preserving ethnic minority identities in the past, and particularly since the beginning of the establishment of Greek schools (Catsiyannis, 1993; Georgiou, 1992). Language teaching appeared to be dominating over history and culture

teaching in Greek supplementary schools until at least ten years ago (Deligianni and Louka, 2004).

The above sections presented data from students in different time periods, from 1960s until recently. This denotes that despite the time past and the continuous changes, students' learning experiences and teaching practices have not changed significantly throughout time. The data reveal a wider admission from participants in other schools in regards to the dominance of language and commemorations teaching. This is problematic, as it appears to influence students' motivation and engagement, as well as their feelings towards their Greek school.

The approach for language teaching in Greek supplementary education was and is still situational and audiolinguistic, where the emphasis is placed on teaching grammar, syntax and structure. On the contrary, what teachers and students suggest is to incorporate a communicative approach to language teaching, in which learners are negotiators and they are actively involved in the learning process. Broader social change and globalisation, suggest that pure language teaching is not enough to develop ethnic minorities children's historical consciousness. Historical consciousness, as explained in chapter 2, section C. 1.1, is different from anthropologically inspired claims which define race based on common cultural and historical background (Smith, 1991, p.9; DuBois, 1897) and provide the basis for forging strong ethnic identities. On the contrary, the wider structural and pedagogic changes question the academic format of language teaching in Greek supplementary schools and rather suggest the incorporation of more progressive communicative teaching approaches (Richards and Rodgers, 2001).

A basic finding of this section is that the language teaching dominated and still dominates in Greek supplementary schools, over the teaching of other cultural elements. This was also a finding of Deligianni and Louka's (2004) research in Greek schools in the UK, in which a big percentage of the students declared that only the teaching of the Greek language takes place in these

schools. The importance attributed to the Greek language teaching can be related to the fact that the Greek language and its preservation, is considered as a basic element for the ethnic identity of Greek and Greek-Cypriot migrants.

The above findings were also confirmed by Sideropoulou and Danielidou (2004) research, in which the majority of the students claimed that the Greek language is important for the preservation of the Greek identity and origin. This has negative implications on students' motivation, as according to the data, students appear to prefer history and heritage teaching rather than language teaching. This was also demonstrated in Papatheodorou (2007) research, in which children were not motivated to learn the Greek language for social reasons and due to fear of exclusion by their peers because of the inferiority of the minority languages. More particularly, language teaching and especially grammar, seem to be demotivating for children, as they find it particularly difficult to learn. This renders Greek supplementary schools as more academic environments. Contrary to this, research in Chinese supplementary schools revealed that students in these schools were motivated, because they were able to develop more 'playful' learner identities (Archer et al, 2008) and not because they aimed at perpetuating teachers' perceptions of Chinese students as 'model pupils' and preserving Chinese ethnic characteristics, for example working hard and be disciplined.

The next section further elaborates on teaching celebrations and commemorations in Greek supplementary schools, which appears to prevail among other history and heritage teaching subjects and occupies most of the teaching. This is discussed based on its relation to memories and notions of preserving certain elements of Greek identity and 'glorious' ethnic moments. This issue is further examined on how it affects students' motivation and learning and the construction of their identities.

## 7. Reviving memory into present through national commemorations

Teachers' responses, as outlined in section 5 of this chapter, revealed that a great part of teaching time in Greek supplementary schools is dominated by teaching and preparing for national commemorations and celebrations. Commemorations can be a means of recalling past events and 'preserving' Greek historical events, memory and ethnic identities.

The close association of identity with memory is evident in the practice of numerous commemorations in Greek supplementary schools. The commemorations which are practiced in Greek supplementary schools are related to historical events of the modern history of Greece and Cyprus. The teaching of national events and the preparation for commemorations are prominent in the curriculum from year 2 to year 6, since they occupy an important part of history teaching (CEM, 2015). Nevertheless, the fact that 6 out of seven former students responded that they were learning about historical facts related to national commemorations (Former students' questionnaires, 2014-2015), implied that this was a practice which existed from the past and is still in effect today.

A student who attended Greek School B during the years during 2000s and graduated recently (App. 3, Table 5), observed that history was only taught occasionally and only through the prism of national commemorations. He did not recall encountering history in formal history lessons. Only when he started doing his GCSE did he begin to start learning history in more detail and a view to more critical eye to questions of evidence and interpretation:

*"That was mainly our focus we 've learned our history through celebrations [...] that was the way we learned not through sitting down and saying and learning properly [...] when I was a teenager, when I was doing my GCSE we have recapped on it more because [name of the teacher] went into more detail in history through texts, and that's when I did learn something (it) was on that point"* (App. 6, Students' Interview 6).

Learning about events related to commemorations appears to be also prevalent in current students' questionnaire responses. Twenty-one current students responded that they learn about events related to celebrations (App. 3, Table 47). These can be related to celebrations of religious events (Christmas, Easter) or commemorations. Teaching recent history of Greece and Cyprus appears to be the most popular teaching subject, based on both teachers' and students' responses, with a big difference compared to the second most popular teaching lesson, doing projects on Greek islands and ancient history (App. 3, Tables 47, 45). Teaching modern history was also the most popular teaching subject for former students, as five out seven students responded that they were taught about Greek/Cypriot modern history (Former students' questionnaire results, 2014-2015). This response can be related to teaching national commemorations which are related to recent history of Greece and Cyprus from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

The teachers in their interviews provided more details regarding the specific content of recent history, which students are taught. More particularly, based on the response of the head teacher of Greek School A, students are taught all the important historical facts which have influenced the political and economic development of Greece and Cyprus, according to the curriculum for supplementary schools (App. 4, Teachers' Open Questionnaire 1). The majority of the teachers responded that students are taught about the historical facts of Cyprus independence on 1<sup>st</sup> October, 1960, the involvement of Greece in the Second World War, the Greek Revolution of 1821, the fight for freedom of Cyprus of 1955-1959 and the Turkish invasion to Cyprus in 1974 (App. 4, Teachers' Interviews). These are the historical facts for which national commemorations take place in Greek supplementary schools.

According to the questionnaires' and interviews' responses, teachers do not seem to teach these facts regularly, but as preparatory lessons before national commemorations. As they have responded, students are prepared for national

commemorations, by learning poems, songs, dances and organizing theatrical performances. Thus, teachers spend half an hour to one hour for teaching the background of the particular historical facts, the poems and songs which they will perform during the national commemorations (Teachers' Questionnaire Responses, 2014-2014, 2015-2016).

A teacher from Greek School C, commented on the occasions she teaches recent history and the selection of content suitable for each subject:

*"... we do lots of things in relation to history and tradition, when national commemorations are approaching, for example we teach about the 25<sup>th</sup> of March, not a lot about the 28<sup>th</sup> of October, because especially for younger children (the subject) is a bit blur to explain, whether the 25<sup>th</sup> of March (commemoration) is a bit more ... easy to understand [...]" (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 2).*

However, the prevalence of teaching national commemorations, can have adverse results on students' motivation. This is supported by the head teacher's of Greek School C response, who expressed students' frustration for commemorations, as these are repetitive. Commemorations were repetitive, she said, with a routine of learning poems, songs, dances which are sometimes the same in successive years, causing students' frustration and demotivation. She expressed students' disinterest, by providing students' own comments regarding commemorations:

*"children who have done a celebration about the 28<sup>th</sup> October when they were 6,7,8,9,10 years old they said 'Enough! We don't want (celebrating) the 28<sup>th</sup> of October anymore', not we don't want to learn, but we don't want to do say the same thing again, that is, it was very repetitive, while the Christmas celebration has provided us the opportunity, the flexibility to do something different each year" (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 7).*

The head teacher continued by highlighting that even though commemorations are essential for the development of historical conscience, these could be celebrated using alternative activities, which will increase students' interest and motivation:

*"[...] definitely it's important for developing the conscience of the children but I believe that there are many other ways to do that"* (App. No. 4, Teachers' Interview 7).

The head teacher set out what was previously argued, that to be aware of your historical consciousness, you need to situate yourself in a nation. This is a claim that was also raised by a part of teachers, who essentialise the notion of culture for forging a strong ethnic identity. Forging a sense of identity though, is not the same as developing a historical consciousness, which encourages students to position themselves in a continuously changing context (Seixas, 2012: 865). This is supported by the head teacher's later argument that historical consciousness can be developed using a variety of other activities (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 7). This opens up the possibility for educationalists to think about what these alternative activities can be. This head teacher is managing the Greek School C for more than six years and lived in the UK for many years (App. 3, Table no. 4). This can affect her perspective and understanding the needs the interests of the children living in the UK.

The issue of occasional history teaching related to national commemorations, can be also confirmed by the ethnographic observations I conducted in the Greek supplementary schools. The time period during which the observations were conducted, coincided with the commemoration of Greek involvement during the Second World War. As the Greek schools were preparing for celebrating this national commemoration, I have observed six lessons on the topic Greece in the Second World War.

The following example of observation, involves teaching the commemoration of Greek involvement in the Second World War, including a variety of teaching



activities. The observation was conducted in Greek School A and the lesson included six students at the GCE A level. The teacher is from Greece and was her first year of teaching in Greek School C (Teacher-g). The special characteristic about this class was that the majority of the students have migrated from Greece recently (App. 5, Teachers' Observation 5). It was already examined how this affects the class dynamic and students' motivation.

The teacher of the observation above, has used a variety of activities during her lesson regarding the commemoration of the involvement of Greece in the Second World War. The lesson started with students' active participation in the lesson using creative activities. The students were asked through a role play to pretend that they are children protesting against a war and think of various slogans which are used during protesting and write them down. Their slogans and drawings showed their emotions in regards to this contested teaching subject.

The teacher continued by recalling previous knowledge of the students regarding the facts of the war. She used her own handouts with class work and activities, indicating the basic facts of the war and corresponding texts. The students were split into groups and were asked to answer a small multiple-choice quiz regarding the facts of the war. The group with the most correct answers would win. All students answered the questions in the multiple-choice quiz correctly, apart from the question "which year Greece became free", in which all children answered incorrectly. This could be because this question involved remembering a chronology, which, according to Teacher-a, a teacher from Greek School D, is not so important for students attending Greek supplementary schools (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 1).

The teacher provided information regarding the facts of the war using pedagogic and authentic material. Using dialogue and discussion, students evaluated their own understanding of the war facts. She used maps and online material to describe the war facts. What is interesting though, is that the

teacher pointed out that Greece was the only country who resisted against the enemies for so many days. Greek resistance and victory was also stressed by Churchill's praise about Greece victory "*Hence, we will not say that Greeks fight like heroes, but that heroes fight like Greeks*", which the teacher brought into the discussion (App. 5, Teachers' Observation 5). A student in Greek School B (Student-e) still remembers this phrase of Churchill, which she has been taught at her Greek school. This is indicative of how certain values and existing ideas regarding a glorious past and the superiority of the Greek nation, can affect the development of students' preconceptions and the preservation of these ideas. As the student remembered:

*"I remember what Churchill said that 'Greeks don't fight like heroes but heroes fight like Greeks' and I used to love that quote, and I said yes, that's right, and I remember the [teacher name] told me that and that Greeks were powerful and the OXI (=No) when they didn't give up"* (App. No. 6, Students' Interview 4).

The fact that this phrase was raised by two different schools, shows the significance that the teachers wish to attribute to this and to stress Greece powerfulness and superiority. This phrase could provide a reference point for comparison of causes, facts and consequences of other wars. This could also contribute in minimising students' preconceptions of Greece's powerfulness and superiority as the only country which was able to fight against enemies and win. This would also give the opportunity to discuss about their identities and critically reflect on their position within current, similar situations.

The teacher stressed in her lesson that Greece was supported by the Allied Powers such as England (App. 5, Teachers' Observation 5). This shows how other countries contributed in Greek victory. Even though this could minimise students' preconceptions, this might have been further expanded with additional activities in order to minimise these.

This part of the lesson was also enriched with students' family experiences and more particularly their grandparents, who participated in the war. Students

were thus able to empathize with the soldiers' experiences and the consequences of the war due to their knowledge of these personal experiences. One of the consequences of the war was hunger, for which the teacher provided information (about the problem of hunger in cities). The teacher asked the students to read a passage from a literature text of a famous Greek writer Zorzi Sarri, "*When the sun*". The text was about the confessions of a young child regarding the experience of hunger and how she felt. One of the questions was to imagine how the children felt during the war. This question enabled students to develop their critical thinking and empathise with children (of possibly the same age) who have experienced the war and be able to write a text with their personal reflection and thoughts.

The next activity was to watch a song on YouTube named "*Don't cry Anna*", which was about a girl who has experienced hunger. The teacher asked the students to pay attention to the pictures which accompany the song and the meaning of the song. However, students were not particularly engaged during this activity and were not paying attention during the song. One explanation for this can be that the lyrics and the meaning of the song was difficult to be conceptualized and understood, as there were hidden meanings in the song. Some activities which the teacher could have incorporated in the lesson to increase students' engagement, could be to explain the meaning of the lyrics of the song and to set the background of the song, in order for it to be contextualised. The engagement of students with activities during or after the song, could have contributed in keeping students more engaged during the task (for example reflect on how the girl felt in the story, as well as other children in a similar position today) (App. 5, Teachers' Observation 5).

Afterwards, the teacher asked the students whether they would like to experience a war. This allowed students to empathise, to get in the position of the 'actors' of the war. The teacher took the role of the listener and led students through critical thinking, discussion, a personal reflection and response to their reaction regarding this view. Reflection and personal exploration are elements that can be developed with experiential learning

and are encompassed in Archer's process of identity development (Archer, 2000). The teacher's (Teacher-g) class activity using discussion and dialogue, led students to a search of their own identity. This is an example of how the incorporation of controversial issues in history teaching can promote democratic discussion and lead to a positive and friendly classroom environment (Grosvenor, 2000). Using dialogue and discussion during teaching and these activities, can contribute to creating this environment, especially in GCE A level teaching.

The last activity based on the class work handout, was to read a passage of Ann Franks' diary and answer some questions. The teacher used this source in order for students to see how facts can be interpreted and understood based on personal accounts and experiences. The questions were based on their understanding of how Ann Frank has experienced and felt during the war. One of the questions was to write, based on the text, the stance towards life that Ann Frank has decided to follow during the war. This activity could have been expanded, in order for the students to compare with other personal accounts of people who experienced the war and develop their criticality and ability to compare situations (App. 5, Teachers' Observation 5).

The above findings reveal that apart from language dominance, national commemorations also prevail by occupying a significant amount of teaching time in Greek supplementary schools. This can be explained as part of the efforts of Greek supplementary education to develop a historical continuum, which can form the basis of constructing a collective historical memory, as well as 'a collective ethnic identity'. This was a conclusion of a recent study by Simpsi (2014) regarding national commemorations in a Greek supplementary school in London. Not only this, but teaching and practicing national commemorations can also lead to suppressing darker sides of history and can lead to students' forming a falsified or singled – sided form of history. According to research in pedagogy in schools in Cyprus, it was revealed that these also follow a single national narrative (Psaltis et al, 2011; Makriyianni and Psaltis, 2007), as well as the history curriculum and pedagogy (Perikleous, 2014). These

can lead in developing students' preconceptions regarding historical elements and a falsified understanding of the historical past.

## **8. Dealing with students' preconceptions**

The prevalence of celebrating national commemorations in Greek supplementary schools is an example of stressing the glorious moments of the Greek nation, but at the same time it creates students' preconceptions by not revealing darker sides of history. The example below shows how students' preconceptions and perceptions of the other can be developed in history teaching. Students at Greek GCE A level, have the opportunity to be taught about Greek literature, Greek/Cypriot geography and history. This involved analysing the narrative "*Η Μόνη Κληρονομιά*" (The only Heritage), by George Ioannou. This narrative involves many different stories, based on true historical facts deriving from the Greek civil war (1946-1949) and Greece involvement during the Second World War (1941-1944), as well as the author's personal experiences during the same period (Ioannou, 1982).

A student of Greek School B, recalled a particular story from this narrative, which reveals how particular actions can inculcate students' preconceptions if not dealt properly:

*"I remember a story in which Germans were throwing lemons to Greeks and they were eating them because they were so hungry and I thought wow, to be that hungry, but the Germans were doing that to ridicule them" ... (App. 6, Students' Interview 4).*

Students in Greek supplementary schools can develop preconceptions or misconceptions stemming from students' macro-context of Greek historiography related to the idea of a glorious past and the perception of the 'other' (Millas, 2008; Leerseen, 2008, p. 93). These notions are reproduced and intensified in students' micro and the meso-environments, the family, the

school and the community, as Greek immigrants wish to preserve and transmit these claims to the following generations. These preconceptions can be dealt or minimised using the relevant history subjects and appropriate teaching activities and methods, which will be discussed below.

A teacher in Greek School C (Teacher-h), was teaching about Greece involvement in the Second World War as part of this commemoration. Apart from teaching the historical facts of the involvement of Greece in Second World War, the teacher dealt with social issues, such as human relationships, friendship and acceptance (App. 5, Teachers' Observation 9).

The teacher asked the students to read part of the text 'Tzovani' by the Greek author Lillika Nakou (1903/4-1989), which deals with a development of a friendship between a Greek and an Italian (Tzovani). Tzovani was helping a Greek boy by sending him food, without revealing his identity. When his identity was finally revealed, the boy was surprised. When the teacher asked the students to think about why he was surprised, the students responded that Tzovani was an 'enemy' (Nakou, n.d., p. 104-108). Nevertheless, the teacher commented that sometimes friendships are born during the war and that not everyone should be considered as 'our enemy'. Even though this could be further developed with students' activities and discussion, this teacher has prevented some of the students' preconceptions which could be developed when teaching about a controversial subject such as wars (App. 5, Teachers' Observation 9).

Teachers can use a range of activities which can contribute in making students empathize with the actors of historical events. An activity which contributes in getting into someone else position and empathise with people's actions and feelings is role play and theatrical performance (Luff, 2000). One of the peculiarities of Greek School D, as was mentioned in the schools' background section, is the use of educational drama techniques.

A teacher who used to teach drama lessons at Greek School D (Teacher-e) and uses educational drama as a teaching approach, provided reasons for using education drama techniques in her interview. Apart from the fact that she is specialised in education drama and its pedagogic application, she explained that:

*"I use these (activities) because you provide the opportunity to the children to get engaged with something more interesting, and ... and ... to create more. eem... The activities are more creative, and whatever we will create at the end, gives them more pleasure"* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 6).

The above reply suggests that students through empathetic understanding are able to discover and develop their personal and social identities (SHP, 2015). This teacher used role play and education drama techniques in a project regarding the Turkish invasion in Cyprus. Students, during this activity, empathised with the refugees' feelings and emotions during this period. The teacher noticed a change in students' emotions at the end of the lesson, from intense emotions regarding the Turkish invasion, to more calm emotions after the end of the project. She also managed to deal with some of the students' preconceptions, as will be explained (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 6).

The teacher explained that the students reacted with an intense manner when they were discussing the Turkish invasion in Cyprus. This is because of the recent memories that the fact and the outcome raise. As a result, she decided to undertake this project with her students using a variety of activities and methods, such as educational drama techniques, discussion and personal accounts, in order to help students to deal with their preconceptions. The teacher remarked that people who are younger in age, *"who should not react so emotionally"* (teacher's own words), have these feelings. As she explained, because their memories are recent, she did not want children to react in the *'typical'* (teacher's own word) manner when the issue of the Turkish invasion is taught (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 6).

Teacher-e asked the students to perform, act out and behave as they were refugees at the time when the war broke out. Then they discussed the facts of the Turkish invasion in the classroom and with their family by answering some questions, which she provided them. The teacher explained the reasons that urged her to use discussion and drama techniques:

*“And they have discussed about what happened in Cyprus in 1974 and then throughout the drama playing they got in the position of the family” (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 6).*

The students afterwards were asked to use their critical thinking and write some questions which they would like to ask someone who is a refugee. She asked the students to write these questions through a personal reflection, while asking them: “What do you think?” and “What do you want to ask?” This is an activity in which, based on experiential learning, students can decide for their learning themselves and develop their critical thinking and reflection. Students have interviewed and used the personal accounts of a refugee to answer these questions.

Teacher-e used a variety of activities and teaching methods, discussion, educational drama techniques and personal reflection. She managed to limit or deal with some of the students' preconceptions since students empathised with refugees' feelings and experiences. As she concluded:

*“And you know that they were very calm when they were discussing, whether in previous lessons, they were reacting very intensely about that, which has caused me worries (put me into thoughts - the exact translation)” (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 6).*

This shows how students' preconceptions and reactions made the teacher concerned and decided to deal with these using this type of techniques. After applying activities with which students can empathise with the actors and their feelings, their feelings have also been modified. Older psychological research suggested that controversial issues in history teaching can cultivate students' skills and develop students' understanding of contemporary issues (Donaldson,



1978). These results lead us to think that the students in the above example, will be more able to critically think and develop their judgment on the current situation in Cyprus.

Another activity which can enrich students' knowledge and skills and disclose their feelings and thoughts regarding subjects which can be characterized as 'controversial' is projects. Students who attended Greek School B in the past, were not involved with doing projects, as Former Student-c remembers:

*"we didn't do projects I think, the projects were about making the map, but we didn't have computers, things like that [...]"* (App. 6, Students' Interview 5).

Engaging with projects on places of Greece and Cyprus is not a very popular teaching activity in current teaching practices, as can be revealed from teachers' responses. Based on teachers' responses in the questionnaires, only a very low percentage of teachers use projects as a learning activity, even though this question was regarding themed work on islands, villages, and towns in Greece (App. 3, table no. 43). Even though almost half of the students responded that they enjoy doing projects, only nine students responded that they do projects about places in Greece and Cyprus (App. 3, table no. 47).

The head teacher of Greek School C, explained how projects can be used for developing students' knowledge, abilities and skills. The school created a project regarding the Turkish invasion in Cyprus, which is a controversial history subject (Perikleous, 2010) and occupies an important part of the curriculum of Greek supplementary education (CEM, 2015). This project involved making a story with photos and pictures and won the first prize in the competition. The students were informed about this subject and received information from personal accounts and experiences (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 7).

In fact, the invasion and its results can be closely related to recent familial memories and experiences (Zembylas and Kambani, 2012). Indeed, the Turkish invasion was a reason for the second largest migration wave of Greek-Cypriots in 1974 (Panayi, 2010, p. 301). Second and third generation students with a

Cypriot background may have close relatives who themselves were refugees or experienced the war, and so their memories from the war are more recent. This can render the construction of students' identities with Cypriot background in these schools distinct from those from a Greek background, as they may be affected from these memories.

As the head teacher of Greek School C supported, students are generally affected by subjects such as wars and cannot remain indifferent. This implies that this is a subject which uncovers students' emotions, especially if students are personally affected from that. This subject enhanced students' interest and intrigued their curiosity to learn about it. So, they raised questions and were asking for more information. The teacher has used authentic material from videos, online resources and texts in order for the students to get informed about this subject (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 7).

Nevertheless, the head teacher of Greek School C acting not only as a source of information, but as a guide, she provided guidance about the subject and the students actively participated in something which involved their own personal work, critical thinking, expression of their feelings and thoughts. They also had the opportunity to discover cultural meanings and interpret facts. They had written texts based on the authentic material and have done a montage of the resources. The students were recorded explaining their thoughts, feelings and reactions about what they have read and learned. The head teacher provided examples on how the students felt while they were recorded:

*"[...] one said sadness, the other said disappointment and so all seven children were included in the video with what they said" (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 7).*

This activity contributed to develop students' identities by uncovering their personal reactions, feelings and emotions. This could be further developed by exploring practices outside the Greek culture and historical context, in order to compare facts and other experiences. This form of exercise promotes active

learning and coincides and reflects school's learning aim of incorporating active learning in teaching (Greek school C website, 2016). A former student of Greek School C, recalled this project and commented that even though he did not like speaking in front of a camera, he found that this project was interesting (App. 6, Students' Interview 1).

Despite the fact that I have not observed these activities myself, and these were based on teachers' perceptions, these resulted in minimising students' preconceptions in issues which are considered as controversial. These activities involved incorporating educational drama techniques and creating projects. The engagement of the students with these activities led to a modification of students' feelings and increased their motivation and engagement in the learning process.

## **9. Heritage Education and Ancient History Teaching**

Within the examination of the findings regarding the subjects taught in Greek supplementary schools, it was revealed that only a few teachers teach ancient history and that this particular subject does not appear to be favourable to students. This section examines two lessons of museum education in Greek School D and discusses how the selection of the teaching content and teaching activities, can influence students' motivation and engagement.

More particularly, I observed a lesson devoted to museum education, which included elements of Greek mythology in its content. It was a preparatory lesson devoted to museum education, before students' actual visit to the British Museum. It aimed at providing details and information about the sculptures of Parthenon. Twenty to thirty students attended this lesson and these were the students who were preparing to visit the British Museum (App. 5, Teachers' Observation 3).

The teacher of the first part of this museum education lesson (Teacher-e), took the opportunity to provide some information about Greek mythology during

this lesson. This was related to the decoration of the frieze and the metopes of Parthenon, which included scenes from the Greek mythology. Generally, students were not so motivated and engaged in this lesson about ancient Greek artefacts and monuments. However, some students appeared to be more motivated, interested and engaged when the teacher referred and provided information about Greek mythology. Interestingly, only a few students participated in the discussion and particularly students who moved to UK from Greece recently (App. 5, Teachers' Observation 3).

The normative view of preparing to go to the museum by devoting lessons on explaining to students what they will see at the museum, contradicts the pedagogic principles of Kolb's learning circle. Field experiences, for example visits at the museum, should aim at students to select what they are interested in and for teachers to exemplify this during the lesson. Experience is considered as a fundamental part of experiential learning. This is reflected in Kolb's experiential learning, in which students firstly participate in a learning experience and then actively and critically review and reflect on this experience (Kolb et al, 2000).

Visits to museums and other sites of memory, are cultural elements which encourage the incorporation of Kolb's theory of reflective practice (Sayner, 2011). Students in this observation, were not provided with the opportunity to express particular interests. Apart from that, as the teacher of the subsequent lesson on museum education (Teacher-a) explained, students were not able to see the artefacts of Parthenon at the museum due to some unpredictable factors (the students arrived at the museum late) (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 1). This denotes that museum visits and generally field experiences, involve some logistics, organisation and commitments and thus teachers need to find ways to perform the lesson the most engaging and motivating way possible.

Teacher-a, emphasised the pedagogic role of museum education for an active and experiential learning, as well as students' development of learning and personal skills:

*"They (students) have seen in action, in real dimensions and in reality, how these objects are and at the same time they had the possibility to search, so to work not as a tourist, but as a researcher, a young archaeologist who studies the museum" (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 1).*

Students' enthusiasm and enhancement of students' skills according to the teacher's response, is particularly observed in younger ages. This is important, since it is more difficult to attract the attention of younger students and keep them engaged and motivated during museum visits. The teacher commented that:

*"Some children, honestly, they have enjoyed it a lot, and I have seen that in the younger ages, and the older children too, but in the younger ages, you know, you can see that enthusiasm and enhanced observation" (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 1).*

As Grever et al (2012) points out, museum visits should allow students to have a direct contact with authentic past material and develop their historical thinking through finding connections of the past with the present and their experiences and reflecting on this experience. The benefits of museum visits were also stressed by a former student of Greek School C, who pointed out that the museum offers the opportunity for learning cultural elements, apart from those learnt in the classroom. He showed his interest in museum visits by commenting that:

*"[...] when I went there, it was interesting, yes, at the museums [...] At the museum there are so many things and so many details which cannot be covered in the classroom, so we learn additional things there" (App. 6, Students' Interview 1).*

Nevertheless, students' enthusiasm has been transformed into students' demotivation during this pre-lesson. Students, especially the older ones, often talked to each other and did not pay attention during the lesson. Both the teacher and the head teacher who were present, had to intervene and interrupt the lesson in order to ask the students to be quiet and pay attention

(App. 5, Teachers' Observations 3, 4). Teacher-e confirmed this lack of student engagement when she reflected that:

*"[...] they didn't participate so much during the discussion and there were lots of children (in the room) and they were competing with each other about who is not going to pay attention (laughter) [...]" (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 6)*

Several factors contributed to students' disengagement during the learning process. Teacher-a, the teacher of the subsequent lesson, is a specialised teacher in history and archaeology (App. 3, Table no. 4). This was reflected in her teaching as she provided historical information on the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus and how this is related to the construction of the mausoleum. Despite the detailed design of the lesson, ancient Greece and monuments of ancient Greece are topics that, as was previously discussed, students have expressed a distinct lack of enthusiasm. This helps to explain students' disengagement.

Aside from the selection of teaching content, the way the activities and resources were used during teaching, were factors that contributed to students' decrease of enthusiasm and engagement. Both teachers used videos from official sites of the Acropolis museum and other sites from the internet, which described and provided information regarding the ancient artefacts. However, the video of Teacher-a's lesson was quite long duration (approximately 10 minutes), and it seemed to contribute to students' feeling disengaged. The teacher did not interrupt the video to provide some explanations, to contextualize what the students were watching or ask the students to perform an activity. Even though the video was in English, which could be more easily understood by the students and attract their attention, and were still disengaged (App. 5, Teachers' Observation 4).

The teacher of the previous museum-education lesson (Teacher-e) has also used videos during her lesson, which even though they were not so long in duration, she did not use them in connection with activities. This also led students to not pay attention during the videos. This teacher though, critically

reflected on her lesson during the interview. She characteristically commented that *"the videos were very long, they included many words"* (App. 5, Teachers' Interview 6). Thus, the data gathered from the lesson observations, demonstrated that the use of film images led to students feeling disengaged during the lesson. Videos could have been split up and contextualised and used in conjunction with the relevant activities. If they are used in this way, the resources have the potential to act as a supportive material and not only as a source of information.

Teacher-e also reflected that it would have been more effective if she had prepared a handout with activities which could be referred to the content of the video. This may have served to focus the students' attention during the video and motivate them to participate in the lesson. As she reflected:

*"I should have prepared a handout with activities, so (I would say) 'in this video pay attention to that and that and take notes', in order to motivate them to participate..."* (App. No. 4, Teachers' Interview 6).

The same teacher (Teacher-e) during her lesson has used activities which were interesting, motivating and developed students' skills. As a teacher who is specialised in drama education she incorporates this teaching approach in her lessons (App. No. 4, Teachers' Interview 6). For this lesson she used role play as one of the teaching activities. Role play is an activity which contributes to make students understand people's feelings, motives and actions in the past, and thus enhances historical empathy (Luff, 2000). The students at the end of the lesson were divided into groups of five students each. They were also asked to dress up as gods and to choose the symbol that each god was holding based on their attributes. Then the teacher asked students to write dialogues, based on the conversation between gods regarding the nomination and the rule of the city of Athens. The students had three targets: to show that they knew the history behind the nomination of the city of Athens, to use appropriate language and to convince the others about their opinion. They had the ability to prove that, by writing a dialogue based on which god they

supported because of his special character and his identity. After completing the writing activity, each group had to stand up and present the dialogue as a role play and to defend why they supported the god they chose (App. 5, Teachers' Observation 3).

While these activities were interesting, the students were disengaged throughout this activity. Some of the students were disorganised and did not work together as a group, which resulted in them being noisy. However, being noisy does not suggest that students did not complete their work, as the students have actually completed their tasks.

The teachers attributed students' disengagement to various factors. As Teacher-a claimed, teaching in mixed-level and mixed-ages classes contributed in students' disengagement and demotivation and that is a problem which can affect teaching and learning process (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 1). Teacher-e also attributed students' disengagement to the large number of students in the classroom and that the students were of mixed abilities (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 6). Teaching mixed-level classes was also perceived as a negative element for students' demotivation in older research in Greek schools in Canada (Constantinides and Tsimpos, 1999). Such claims necessarily minimise the importance of the teachers' actions which may also render students feeling de-motivated. These normative views were also depicted in teachers' questionnaire responses, as the majority of the teachers responded that teaching in a class with many students, as well as teaching in a classroom with students of mixed ages and levels affects teaching and learning of history and tradition and is considered as a problem (App. 3, Table no. 51).

However, Teacher-e upon reflecting on her lesson, realised the positive impact of teaching in mixed ages and levels. After critically thinking about what she might have done differently during learning activities she realised:



*"I should have separated them into groups of mixed ages and abilities in order to help one another"* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 6).

The teacher above, noticed the positive contribution of mixing students with different abilities and ages when she was teaching education drama techniques and particularly exercises of expression and communication. As she observed:

*"Something else which has impressed me is that the younger children went closer to their older cousins, there was a mixture (of ages) in the group, that was very nice"*  
(App. 4, Teachers' Interview 6).

Even though teachers attribute students' disengagement to a range of factors, for example teaching in mixed ages and levels, the head teacher of Greek School C supported the possibility that the teachers have a key role to play in promoting creative activities that will increase student interest and motivation:

*"But I believe that even if the interest is not much, with a creative way you can attract their interest and you adjust it based on the students you have in the classroom. I want to believe that some things may not interest them, but you try other things until you find what's suitable"* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 7).

This reflection suggests that some teachers are aware that a different approach to lesson planning can enhance students' interest and enthusiasm. This corresponds with the school's education policy for incorporating activities which can lead to students' enthusiasm during learning (Greek school C website, 2016). According to Kolb's circle, the teachers can use activities in which the active participation of the students will be encouraged, based on themes which attract students' interest. These activities can be followed by discussion, contextualisation and critical evaluation and their efficiency was also proved by older research applying experiential learning in history teaching (Kolb et al, 2000; Svinicki and Dixon, 1987).

An activity which can enhance students' engagement and can be practiced in cases of mixed ages and levels is peer learning. This activity can be used in

order for older students or students with enhanced abilities to help the others (Topping, 2007). Nevertheless, this activity is not suggested as a teaching method in the curriculum and is not referred by the teachers as a teaching method which they use during teaching history and tradition.

The observations and data above revealed how the selection of the content and learning strategies can affect students' motivation. The data suggested that learning about ancient history and artefacts/monuments is demotivating for students, while mythology seems to be a subject which is of more interest to students. The idea of preparing for a museum visit, also appears to have adverse results on students' motivation and engagement. On the contrary, students can be transformed from passive to active learners, with the process of active learning, in which students firstly experience and have the choice to select the elements they wish to be engaged with. Both teachers have worked hard to keep students engaged and the lessons included interesting teaching activities, such as role play. However, as one of the teachers reflected, despite these efforts, students were not engaged in the learning process (App.4, Teacher Interview 6). This leads to considering whether these would have been more effective and motivating, if these were applied within the context of active and experiential learning and the incorporation of 'peer learning'.

## **10. Teaching the history of the Greek migration in the UK**

This section examines a history subject which is also not very popular in Greek supplementary schools, the history of the Greek/Cypriot migration in the UK. The teaching of the Greek migration in the UK, is not included in the curriculum for Greek supplementary education. The reference to these issues is done sporadically and occasionally and not systematically. This is reflected in teachers' questionnaires' responses, as nearly half of the teachers (11 out of 23 teachers), responded that they do not teach about the history of migration (Teachers' results, 2014-2015, 2015-2016). Teachers' questionnaire responses are representative of the students' questionnaire responses, as only three

students responded that they learn about the history of migration (Students' Questionnaire Responses, 2014-2015).

Despite the fact that only a few teachers are engaged with teaching about the Greek migration, most of the teachers responded positively when they were questioned about whether students should be taught about the history of Greek migration in UK (App. 3, Table no. 48). Not only teachers, but also a great part of the students responded that they would like to learn about the history of migration (App. 3 Table no. 58). Older research regarding the teaching of history and the history of migration revealed that the students were not interested in learning about the history of Greek diaspora in Britain, even though they would not find learning about this as boring (Deligianni and Louka, 2004).

Teachers and students expressed various perspectives and views regarding teaching and learning about the history of migration in UK. The head teacher of school D, explained the reasons students should be taught about the history of migration. According to her, students should learn about the history of migration, in order to learn about their origin and their past, how they react in a culture and how they should behave in the future. Thus, they could learn about their position within the society and develop their identity (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 8).

Even though only 8 out of 23 teachers responded that they teach about the reasons of Greek migration in UK (Teachers' Questionnaires responses 2014-2015, 2015-2016), a teacher in Greek School D (Teacher-a), supported that:

*"It's good to know that because migration waves are connected with great historical facts of Greece and Cyprus [...] that helps them in identifying themselves, in their identification a lot" (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 1).*

Teacher-a shed light on the importance of learning about the history of Greek migration can be a subject which can help students discover their roots, their past and develop their identity. This is also supported by Chourdakis (2001:2),

that minority students through teaching of Greek migration, are able to position themselves within their meso-environment, as well as their macro-environment.

More particularly, and in regards to developing their position within their micro and meso-context, students will be able to connect the personal history of migration of their family with the general historical facts which urged them to migrate. Nevertheless, a teacher in Greek School C (Teacher-b), was thoughtful on whether students should be taught about the history of migration. She justified her thought by arguing that she is not certain whether this concerns the students and whether it is relevant to them and that this should be left to the family to deal with (App. 4, Teachers' Interview No. 2). The head teacher of Greek School B (Headteacher-a) agreed with this perspective by providing the example of the recent economic crisis in Greece. As she claimed:

*"... when someone arrived here from Greece due to the crisis, what should you tell (to the child)? [...] I think we should be a bit discrete in that aspect." (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 3)*

Contrary to the views of Headteacher-a and Teacher-b, Teacher-e, a teacher of Greek school D, pointed out that the history of migration is directly relevant to the children, since the effects of this history are 'alive' (App. No. 4, Teachers' Interview No. 6). They are alive today, because the memories are also 'alive', as children's relatives remember the socio-political factors which led to their migration. The children also remember the problems Greek-Cypriots migrants faced when they have migrated. Former Student-d and Student-e, students at Greek School B, despite the fact that they were taught by their family about the basic knowledge regarding their origin and the history of their family, the Greek school, as they supported, can enhance students' understanding regarding the history of the family migration. More particularly, Student-e added that even though she was informed about the history of her grandparents and how they migrated in UK, she explained that this was a more

personal and specific story, while students at Greek school can learn about how the war affected the country as a whole. Both students implied that even though each immigrant family has a personal story regarding its migration, this personal story can be enriched, developed and justified by connecting it with the real historical facts behind the story (App. 6, Students' Interview 4; Students' Interview 6).

The positive contribution of learning about history of migration can be seen in the example of the lesson regarding history of migration, which I have observed. The lesson was about the Greek-Cypriot migration in UK in year 4, at the Greek School B, with four students in classroom, the majority of whom were third generation students. The teacher used a book from E.DIA.M.ME "*From the life of Greeks in Great Britain*", as the main resource of her lesson (E.DIA.M.ME, 2004). The book was online and she showed that using a laptop, without a projector. The teacher started the lesson by asking the students about the history of migration of their family, more specifically when their family has migrated to UK. The answers ranged from the Turkish invasion in Cyprus, the economic situation and unemployment in Cyprus, while another student did not know the reason for his/her family migration (App. 5, Teachers' Observation No. 2).

The teacher then provided the historical facts which led to the migration of Greek-Cypriots in the UK, stressing that the 1878 is the first date which we have information about the Greek presence in UK. She used pictures from the book, asking students to describe them and think about what they present. The pictures included the professions which Greek-Cypriots used to be engaged with, such as shoemaking and the difficult situations which they have been through during especially the first years of living in the UK (App. 5, Teachers' Observation No. 2).

The teacher showed pictures featuring poor families with many children. In response, students commented that because they were poor, many people had to live in a house/flat to send money to their families. Nevertheless, the

teacher, acting as a guide, by showing pictures of the church in the community centre, developed a discussion with the students regarding how the Greek Orthodox Church acted as the centre of the community. She compared that with what happens today, as the church is a place of social gathering (Evergeti, 2006). The discussion was also focused on the role of the 'Greek-Cypriot Brotherhood' in the development of the Cypriot community, as they helped them to find jobs and establish schools (App. 5, Teachers' Observation No. 2). The discussion of these difficulties, represent common sense ideas of the need for a community and support, and perpetuate the role of the community of forming tight bonds between its members. While the Greek communities served this purpose of conditioning and preserving cultural elements and identities in the past, the current context of social and wider changes render the context of the Greek community changeable and dynamic.

At the end of the lesson, the teacher asked the students to imagine how the immigrants felt when they were saying goodbye to their family. Students attempted to empathise with the migrants and some of the answers were that migrants felt sad but also happy because they would be able to find jobs and help their family (App. 5, Teachers' Observation 2). This was an activity of reflection and identity exploration, since students could empathize with the immigrants and their feelings (Kolb et al, 2000).

If there was more time left for further development, this lesson could have been further developed by connecting it with the recent experience of Greeks who also have to leave their country due to economic reasons. This lesson provided the opportunity to the students to discover themselves, their past, origin, develop their historical knowledge regarding the historical facts which led to the migration but also realise and empathise with the difficulties that immigrants have gone through during their settlement in the UK. This lesson contributed in providing historical knowledge but also in students' identity development. During the lesson, the students were thoughtful and interested in learning about the difficulties which the migrants faced during their

settlement (App. 5, Teachers' Observation No. 2). This can be explained due to the direct connection of this lesson with them, as members of the Greek community. This lesson provided the opportunity for students to be positioned within this smaller context of the community in relation to the wider context of a pluralistic society and how they should behave to others depending on their personal experience.

Most significantly though, this is a subject which can help develop students' feelings of empathy with refugees, their actions and feelings. This will help in their perception and treatment of the 'other' and their identity development. As a teacher at Greek School D pointed out:

*"... they understand what their grandparents have gone through, and so they can realise how some other refugees feel, we see what's happening with Syria and Greece now... And when a refugee will ask for a shelter they will treat him differently"* (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 6).

This coincides with the last stage of Kolb's cycle, which involves active experimentation, during which students compare the knowledge received from the previous stages in other contexts (Kolb et al, 2000; Saul McLeod, 2013). This is useful for first generation migrant students, who will be able to compare the historical facts who led to the migration of the first migrants, with the current ones, and undergo a process of reflection regarding their current position in a new context.

This lesson on the history of migration is indicative of its usefulness for students to discover their past and to position themselves within the Greek community. By doing so, they can reflect on their status and undergo a process of in developing their identities. Immigrant students, by learning about their social context, they are able appreciate the culture and history of the country they live in. Through a cross-cultural interaction, which can be applied in teaching practices, students can learn to accept the different and develop a positive stance towards pluralism (Chourdakis, 2001:2).

Even though the lack of teaching time and access to resources were limitations to the teaching and learning process, students' interest in this subject was obvious as they were motivated and engaged throughout the learning process. This should urge for a reconsideration of education policies, in order for the curriculum to include this as a teaching subject and for teachers to include this in their teaching.

### **Summary:**

A notable finding of the previous chapter is that while some of the participants consider pluralism and social change as an opportunity for the students to negotiate their identities, the Greek supplementary education appears to be still guided by pre-existing, deeply rooted values and ideas, which consider the notion of culture as essential to the constitution of the self and claim that identities in diaspora need to be preserved.

The findings suggest that the teachers incorporate activities which do not recall the didactic, instructional pedagogy of Greek supplementary education of the past. However, this need for a change is refrained by limitations in Greek supplementary education, for example the unsuitability and non-availability of relevant resources, the limited guidance which teachers receive on how to teach history and heritage, as well as policies and practices which enforce the dominance of the Greek language teaching and national commemorations and celebrations. These policies and practices have a negative impact on students' motivation, as they do not appear to be motivated by the 'academically' oriented learning environment of the Greek schools.

The next chapter discusses through the voices of the participants themselves, how significant socio-political changes call for a reconsideration of educational policies and practices in Greek supplementary schools.



## **Chapter 8**

### **Reconsidering education policies and practices in late modernity**

Chapters five, six and seven revealed that in an era of rapid social and economic change, the current educational policies and practices which continue to exist in Greek supplementary schools, render learning demotivating and uninteresting. The domination of teaching the Greek language and commemorations, certain teaching practices which do not render students as reflexive learners, as well as the inadequacy of suitable resources, all these were proved to have a direct impact on students' motivation. Apart from this, the structure of both the community and the schools is changing due to the influx of first generation students from Greece and Cyprus, whilst the unstable economic situation in both Greece and Cyprus, renders the continuation of Greek supplementary education disputable.

The last chapter demonstrates that in this changing context, both policies and educational practices in Greek supplementary schools need to be readjusted. The participants were provided with the opportunity to reflect on their experiences and practices and offered suggestions for improvement of history teaching and learning. These are explored in this chapter and guide the chapter towards concluding remarks at the end of the chapter.

#### **1. The need for change**

The participants of this doctoral study realised the need for change and the uncertainty which exists around the future of Greek supplementary schools. For example, a former student and member of the school committee at Greek school B (App. 3, Table no. 5) at the end of his interview, seemed to realise the urgent need for implementing renovated ideas for the survival of the Greek schools, which he considered as the future of the Greek community (App. 4, Student Interview 5). He predicted the dangers for the survival of the Greek

community and schools in the next years, possibly due to the economic crisis in Greece and Cyprus. This also shows how the members of the community are concerned and care about the continuation of the Greek education and commonly see it as the prerequisite for the preservation of the ethnic element.

This view reveals that there is concern that this 'groupness' will disappear if something is not changed. Ethnicities are not static, are not guaranteed by history or tradition but they are liable to change. Today's context of social, ethnic and cultural changes and especially the recent migration flows, suggest a need to adapt teaching means and methods to the current reality in order to become more inclusive (Karagiorgos, 2008: 183). Such adaptations might include revisiting of the aims, policies and teaching practices of Greek education of diaspora.

## **2. Participants' suggestions**

Participants expressed their suggestions and provided solutions for improving issues which were raised as problematic in history teaching. The majority of the teachers in the interview suggested that more teaching time should be devoted to teaching history and heritage. More particularly, the head teacher of Greek School B suggested that Cyprus Educational Mission should be more flexible regarding the time that should be devoted in teaching history and heritage (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 3).

As was discussed in Chapter 7, the limitation of teaching time devoted in teaching cultural themes appeared to be one of the reasons for the dominance of Greek language teaching. However, the lesson observations conducted for this study demonstrated that students were demotivated by this approach (App. 5, Teachers' Observation Nos. 6, 9). The head teacher of Greek School C suggested that language should not be the main teaching subject or the main reason for students to attend Greek supplementary schools. Instead, Greek supplementary schools should focus more on the

historical background of Greece nation building, instead of focusing on plain language teaching. The head teacher stressed that the role of the Greek supplementary school should be more social rather than purely academic, a role which was more prevalent in the past, and based on the findings of this research, continues up to present (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 7).

Students also raised the issue of the dominance of teaching the Greek language and commemorations. A former student at Greek School B (Former Student-d), remembered being taught about historical events or facts when a celebration or commemoration was approaching. He expressed the wish to learn about more subjects related to culture, apart from those related to celebrations or commemorations, as for example the Olympic games (App. 6, Students' Interview 6).

In order to implement this change and include a variety of history and heritage subjects in teaching, there should be adequate and suitable resources for culture teaching. This issue was also raised in teachers' suggestions. A teacher in Greek School C, suggested that there should be additional material for history and tradition which should supplement the main teaching book used in Greek for supplementary education (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 2).

However, a teacher at Greek School A (Teacher-c), added that this supplementary material should be written by many subject-specialised people, driven by their knowledge and their teaching experience. This is significant, because history, as already discussed in Chapter 2, is contested. The teacher added that the supplementary material should be historically documented using a variety of scientific resources and testimonials, which would act as a subsidiary material to the information provided by the teacher and would render historical facts more credible (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 4). This will also minimise the issue of a single-sided history, which appears to be prevalent in Greek pedagogical material and practices (Perikleous, 2014; Makriyanni and Psaltis, 2007). This was also demonstrated in lesson observations and students' perceptions, as discussed in Chapter 7, which projected the

superiority and powerfulness of the Greek nation (for example App. 5, Teachers' Observation no. 5; App. 6, Students' Interview 2).

Another important finding of this research is the lack of teachers' training and the provision of sufficient guidance on how to teach cultural subjects. The acknowledgement of this insufficiency led the teachers to suggest the organisation of training and seminars and the provision of guidance on teaching culture. More particularly, teachers expressed the wish for a more structured and detailed curriculum. The head teacher of Greek School C explained in her interview how the curriculum should be more structured, a suggestion that reveals the teaching professionalism of the head teacher. According to her, the curriculum should provide suggested teaching subjects and activities for each term and year, but also based on the level, abilities and students' characteristics, for example for bilingual or foreign language speakers or first generation students (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 7). A former student at Greek School C who graduated recently, agreed about the insufficiency of the curriculum, as he would like to have a more structured lesson regarding history and tradition (App. 6, Students' Interview1).

Despite the fact that almost all teachers are professional teachers, they still feel the need to be trained on how to teach history and culture in the context of supplementary education. Many teachers expressed the wish to attend in-service training (App. 4, Teachers' Interviews Nos. 1, 3, 5, 7, 8). This is an implicit recognition that the fixed practices of preservation of culture and ethnicity are disputable, due to the changing status of the Greek community, the schools and the wider social structure. For example, Teacher-a, who is specialised in history and archaeology, stressed the importance of being trained by people who should have the relevant knowledge of supplementary education and consider the needs of the children and the community (App. 4, Teachers' Interview 1). This has direct implications on the importance of not delivering plain knowledge, but also to know how to apply this pedagogically, so that it corresponds to the needs and abilities of students in supplementary education. Both teachers and students suggested ways which can increase students'

engagement and motivation and concern both the content and the teaching methods/activities.

The head teacher of Greek School C for example, emphasised the issue of trying to find ways to increase students' motivation. She suggested that pedagogic practices should 'excite' students, without being tiring or demotivating for the children (App. 4, Teachers' Open Questionnaire No. 1). Not only teachers, but also students suggested that teachers should also use more interesting and engaging teaching methods and activities, which would render the lesson more enjoyable and motivating. Students from all schools suggested including more interesting resources in the lesson, for example videos, historical documentaries and films. Apart from that, they also added their own voice in finding ways to incorporate more engaging teaching methods, such as educational games and group work. Students, and more particularly Student-b, expressed the wish to experience active learning, in which students themselves will be able to make choices for their learning and be actively involved in the learning process (App.6, Students Interviews; Students' Open Quest. No. 2).

Participants' suggestions reflect the need for change and a reconsideration of policies and practices in Greek supplementary schools which will correspond with the current labile context and the dynamic changes in the Greek community and the schools. This chapter and thesis concludes with a summary of the thesis and the findings and concluding remarks on further research.

## **Conclusion:**

### **1. Thesis summary**

This research examined the pedagogy of history and heritage in Greek supplementary schools and its impact on the development of students' identities in a context characterised by continuous social changes. The recent migration waves from Greece and Cyprus to the UK, has brought changes to the structure of the Greek communities and brought new challenges in classroom practices. The theoretical framework of critical realism employed in this research, as well as Archer's theory on identity are in accordance with this context of social change, as it is dynamic, it provides the opportunity to the agents to reflect on their social position and roles and be reinvented through morphogenesis (Archer, 2000; Archer, 2012). Other agents prefer and aim at retaining fixed social forms and practices through morphostasis (Archer, 2000, p. 273). This is reminiscent of the efforts of the Greek community, the policies and the curriculum of Greek supplementary education, which aim at preserving the cultural and ethnic characteristics and transmit them to the following generations (CEM, 2015; Law 2413/1996, Article 1, Paragraph 1).

One means for accomplishing these efforts is history and heritage teaching provided in Greek supplementary schools. History teaching in general, is contested (Cannadine et al, 2011). Pre-existing notions around Greek culture and ethnicity influence the development of educational policies and cultural practices in Greek supplementary schools. Memory, can assist in perpetuating these notions, by endorsing them with feelings of nostalgia for a glorious past or silencing past (Kansteiner, 2002, p. 180; Mavroskoufis, 2012). These notions of ethnicity are represented in teaching practices in mainstream schools in Greece and Cyprus, which follow a traditional, didactic teaching model, based on a single narrative and a continuity of Greek nation from antiquity until today (Perikleous, 2014; Mavroskoufis, 2010).

Whilst history can condition particular representations of ethnicity, it can also, if practiced in the right manner, lead students to develop historical

consciousness. This renders students active and reflexive learners able to critically think about past and its connection with their contemporary experiences, with a critical look in the future (Seixas, 2012). Historical consciousness can be achieved through active and experiential learning in which students actively experience past and are provided with the opportunity to be reflexive learners and lead to a morphogenesis of their identities (Kolb et al, 2001).

In order to examine how history is practiced in Greek supplementary education, a case study of four Greek supplementary schools was conducted following a mixed-method methodology, in three distinct phases. The pre-phase of this doctoral research used documentary research and analysis to examine the history of migration of Greek and Greek-Cypriot migrants and the establishment of Greek communities and Greek supplementary schools in the UK since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The second, quantitative phase, employed questionnaires as a research method. It explored teachers' and students' attitudes on history and heritage pedagogy in Greek supplementary schools, and contributed in obtaining data regarding the social stratification and background of the participants. The third, qualitative phase, using interview and ethnographic observations as research methods, it shed light on participants' perceptions and cultural practices around history teaching and identity construction.

In the pre-phase of the research, it was discussed how these processes were a result of significant socio-political and historical factors, which influenced not only the migration processes but also the position of immigrants within the host country. Greek supplementary schools were established as a means of protecting the members of these communities from assimilation processes and supported their wish and efforts of preserving cultural and ethnic characteristics unaltered to the following generations (Catsiyannis, 1993; Constantinides, 1997, p. 284).

Whilst these policies and practices seemed to be functioning their purpose within a multicultural society in the past, the findings of this research suggest that policies, perceptions and practices continue to reproduce these efforts in this period of late modernity. The findings of this research represent the contestation around history teaching. They present two notions of pedagogic practices and identity development in Greek supplementary schools. The one is affected by primordial values and ideas of Greek nation, Greek superiority and the close relation of Greek ethnicity with orthodox religion. It represents the poststructuralists' claims on identity which are based on an essentialist view of identities, as well as anthropological claims which view identities as fragile and in need of protection (Hall, 1995; Smith, 1991). The other path of history pedagogy follows a more dynamic view of history teaching, in which history is a means for students to negotiate their identities and reflect on their position within a pluralistic environment. This is also presented in teaching practices which denote a sense of change in the social structure, challenge pre-existing ideas and values and provide students the ability to reflect on their social position and identities.

However, the findings reveal that these processes of morphogenesis are restricted by policies, resources and cultural pedagogic practices which aim at perpetuating the desire and efforts for preserving identities. A significant finding of this research is that the teaching in Greek supplementary schools is dominated by Greek language teaching which is considered as a means of identity construction and preservation (Prokopiou and Cline, 2010). According to the findings, due to the time limit and the focus of the curriculum on teaching the Greek language, Greek language teaching is focused on the teaching of grammar, which renders teaching purely academic and demotivating for students. The findings reveal that when history is taught, this merely concentrates on teaching the glorious moments of the Greek nation, related to commemorations and celebrations, while silencing other important moments of history (for example civil wars, Polytechnic uprising). As students learn about the history of Greece and Cyprus predominantly through its



glorious and victorious moments, this inculcates a sense of pride in students regarding the superiority of the Greek nation which distinguish it from other nations. These teaching practices render students demotivated and disengaged as these are repetitive and do not correspond with students' experiences.

The findings also disclosed that students' demotivation and disengagement is reinforced by the problem of inadequacy and unsuitability of resources regarding history and heritage teaching in Greek supplementary schools. The resources used in these schools are those mainly used in mainstream schools in Greece and they do not correspond with the needs and experiences of students in the context of diaspora. Apart from this, the inadequacy of training and seminars on teaching history in these schools, is also problematic as teachers are not trained to teach in this context, which is different compared to this in mainstream schools. So, part of them carry and adopt values and practices of their home country to these schools.

Conclusively, what the findings suggest is that identity is a stratified construct and that agents respond to their social positions by engaging in a continuous dialogue. Part of this dialogue is about accessing and interpreting the resources at Greek supplementary schools. The resources for identification include discourses, practices and values of the agents who appear in these institutions. All these represent the symbolic meaning of Greekness, which renders learning either motivating and engaging or demotivating, restricting the opportunities to negotiate certain notions of ethnicity.

## **2. Concluding remarks**

This doctoral study examined the pedagogy of history and heritage and identity development in Greek supplementary schools in a crucial period of migration movement, social and structural change both in the Greek community and in the wider context. It also aimed at raising the voice of

marginalised and under-researched groups, in order to engage them in a meaningful dialogue aiming at uncovering the problems of supplementary education and provide solutions for policy and practice.

Throughout this doctoral study I, as a researcher, was able to realise that in order to conduct a research on a sensitive issue as this of identity development, there is a need to understand the context in which these identities are placed. Even though I came from a background where I was influenced by particular notions of Greek culture and ethnicity, the fact that I am also immigrant in the UK for many years, living in a pluralistic environment, having taught in these schools and being a researcher in the field of history pedagogy and supplementary education enabled me to understand and uncover the complexities behind pedagogy and immigrants' identity construction in supplementary education. I was able to understand that identity development in Greek supplementary schools is an interplay of a variety of factors and is influenced by wider structural changes, ideological and social values around ethnicity, culture and identity, school's positioning and mission, as well as people's own personal histories. Researching these issues also enabled me to understand the contestation of history as a teaching subject and that researchers and academics need to take into account various parameters for interpreting historical pedagogy when researching in these fields. Parameters such as norms, values and beliefs influence social actors' capacity to act, the process of identity formation and help to explain pedagogic choices and practices.

This research has implications for both policy and practice and contributed in bringing new scrutiny in the field of sociology and supplementary education, the history of migration, history pedagogy, super-diversity in education and multiculturalism. Through the findings it was clear that both policy and practice around supplementary schools need to become more inclusive, embrace plurality and diversity and adopt to the current wider changes, taking into consideration students' own historicities. Throughout this study I aimed at being respectful to participants' views and practices and act as a critical friend on

how policies and pedagogic practices can be reconsidered and improved. These should also consider the changing social context, including the recent migration waves from Greece and Cyprus to the UK which brought dynamic changes to the classroom practices and the Greek community. For example, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland follows a postmodern stance in historical understanding, embracing plurality and accepting difference, incorporating various and diverse perspectives in history teaching and interpretation (McCully and Waldron, 2013; Myers and Grosvenor, p. 503). Adopting this approach to learning, it was proved to render students more motivated and engaged in the learning process (Archer et al 2008; Reay and Mirza, 1997).

This research though, goes beyond the experiences in Greek community and schools and enhances our understanding of how traditional, fixed ties, values and practices can be retained or modified, questioned and regenerated in the contemporary world of late modernity (Straßburger, 2005). Despite the fact that this research concerns a specific population – that of Greek and Greek-Cypriot immigrants – and a specific context – this of England and Greek supplementary schools – certain issues have a wider appeal. Immigrants turning to the past to create histories as a response to discrimination or assimilation processes was a wider trend with other immigrant populations in the UK, but also in other contexts across Europe (Myers, 2015; Martinello, 2005; Berthomiere, 2005; Ma Mung, 2005). These immigrants, as social agents, act from certain social positions, they are part of a nation state, guided by certain renditions of culture and heritage.

Further research can extend our understanding on the under-researched area of supplementary education. Additional historical research for example on Greek-Cypriot migration can contribute in improving our understanding on migration progresses. Also, future research can include more schools across the UK and include wider range of ages, levels and history and heritage subjects. A comparative study between Greek supplementary schools and other supplementary schools with populations of long migration history in the

UK, for example Irish, Caribbean or Chinese, can extend our understanding of the transferability of the results of the research in other contexts. In addition, an ethnographic study can examine how daily social practices of the members' of the Greek community can affect teaching practices and relationships in Greek supplementary schools.

The academic neglect on issues of supplementary education, the need of policies, resources and practices to understand the needs, experiences and expectations of ethnic minority students living in a changing world, the uncertainty regarding the future of Greek supplementary schools, but most significantly the dynamic change in the structure of the community and schools, render the need for change more appealing than ever. Policies and practices should consider students as social actors, active and reflexive learners, able to construct their learning based on their experiences and preferences and be provided with the opportunity to reflect on and develop their own sense of identities. This is how a real change will be implemented, which would consider students as social actors, and part of society in which *'everything flows and nothing stays the same' (Heraclitus)*.

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## **Research References:**

### **Teachers' data:**

Headteacher-a, head teacher Interview date, 10/07/2015

Headteacher-b, head teacher Interview date 18/07/2015

Headteacher-c, head teacher, Interview date 27/10/2015

Headteacher-d, head teacher, Open Questionnaire date 04/03/2016

Education Counsellor, Head of Cyprus Educational Mission, Open Questionnaire 18/11/2016

Observation 1, Teacher-d, date 23/05/2015

Observation 2, Teacher-f, date 06/06/2015

Observation 3, Teacher-e, date 13/06/2015

Observation 4, Teacher-a, date 13/06/2015

Observation 5, Teacher-g, date 17/10/2015

Observation 6, Teacher-c, date 17/10/2015

Observation 7, Teacher-b with another teacher, date 24/10/2015

Observation 8, Teacher-b with another teacher, date 24/10/2015

Observation 9, Teacher-h, date 24/10/2015

Observation 10, Greek school A, date 27/06/2015

Teacher-a, teacher Interview date 25/06/2015

Teacher-b, teacher Interview date 16/07/2015

Teacher-c, teacher, Interview date 01/08/2015

Teacher-d, teacher Interview date 20/06/2015

Teacher-e, teacher Interview date 26/06/2015

Teachers' Questionnaire Responses (2014-2015, 2015-2016)

**Students' data:**

Adult Students' Questionnaire Responses (2014-2015)

Student-a, Students' Open Questionnaire, date 16/03/2016

Student-b, Students' Open Questionnaire, date 29/03/2016

Student-c, Students' Open Questionnaire, date 29/03/2016

Student-d, Student Interview, date 26/10/2015

Student-e, Student Interview, date 21/07/2015

Former Students' Questionnaire Responses (2014-2015)

Former Student-a, Former Student Interview, date 03/03/2016

Former Student-b, Former Student Interview, date 26/10/2015

Former Student-c, Former Student Interview, date 21/07/2015

Former Student-d, Former Student Interview, date 21/07/2015

Students' Questionnaire Responses (2014-2015)

**Other sources:**

Greek School A website (2016)

Greek School B website (2016)

Greek School B website (2017)

Greek School C website (2016)

Greek School D website (2016)

Greek School B newsletter

English newspaper Greek School B website

**Notes and abbreviations:**

Greek School A: Greek supplementary school A

Greek School B: Greek supplementary school A

Greek School C: Greek supplementary school A

Greek School D: Greek supplementary school A

CEM: Cyprus Educational Mission

MOEC: Cyprus Ministry of Education











































































































































































































































































































































































